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MANUEL ABAD Y QUEIPO, BISHOP OF MICHOACAN

Spanish ecclesiastics were remarkable pioneers, trail blazers, civilizers, administrators, and educators. High on the list of faithful ecclesiastics may be placed Manuel Abad y Queipo who was one of the most interesting and outstanding men in Mexico during the period of decline which preceded Hidalgo's revolution. A many-sided individual, indeed, was Abad y Queipo who wrote and conversed intelligently on innumerable subjects. He was something of a philosopher, an economist, a political scientist, and a reformer in addition to his calling as an ecclesiastic. No person was more intimately acquainted with all the conditions in Mexico in the early nineteenth century than this observing man. In him all classes of people found a very loyal and helpful friend. The decadent Spanish colonial administration and its lack of progress troubled him exceedingly, and he did all he could to revive it. With an intellect as rare as it was brilliant and the fire of a splendid enthusiasm, Abad y Queipo was a peculiar combination of conservatism and liberalism. He still possessed hope in venerable institutions, yet on many occasions his liberal ideas caused him difficulties because conservatism was the order of the day. He played a leading part in the efforts to ward off the revolution of Hidalgo and, since he recognized the grievance of the people better than the governmental officials, his advice was invaluable.

Hidalgo, knight errant of Mexican independence, and other patriots, who dared to defy openly those in charge of a régime which had outgrown its usefulness, have been proclaimed in

glowing colors, but those who preferred to work for reform and liberalism within the existing institutions and government have been overlooked. Abad y Queipo belongs to the latter group. He was less spectacular than the well-known revolutionists, but just as sincere in his desire to remedy old abuses and inaugurate innovations for the good of the people.¹

Manuel Abad y Queipo was born in 1751 into one of the most noble families of Spain—the house of Abad. He was the natural son of Joseph Abad y Queipo and Josefa García de la Torre, inhabitants of Villarpedre in the province of Asturias.² He was educated at the University of Salamanca where he specialized in literature, philosophy, and law. He received the degree of bachelor of law and bachelor of sacred canon law from the university.³

¹ This account is based upon documents never used before and is part of my larger study of Abad y Queipo. Naturally it should present him in a somewhat different light from the old more or less prejudiced views of a man whom the insurgents considered an enemy of independence and who, the king thought, was secretly working for separation from the mother country. The writings of Abad y Queipo are quite extensive and cover many different subjects because of his divers interests. They consist of long representations to the king and the high officials of state, pastoral letters and edicts, and his personal correspondence. Some of these have been published in José Luis Mora's *Obras sueltas* (Paris, 1837), Appendix 10 of volume four of Lucas Alamán's, *Historia de Méjico*, volume two of Hernández y Dávalos, *Colección de documents para la Historia de la Guerra de Independencia de Mexico*, and in the *Papeles varios* of Mexico. The personal correspondence of the ecclesiastic, the papers relative to his family, nobility, and birth, the accusations of the inquisition against him and his defense before that tribunal, the documents concerning the attempt to deprive him of his bishopric, the accusations of his enemies, the recommendations of his friends, the papers of the Council of the Indies treating him, and the manuscripts concerning his later life have never been printed. Upon all these materials this account of Abad y Queipo is based.

² Certificación de la nobleza de Manuel Abad y Queipo. 1806, números 1, 2, 3, AGI, 2693 (97-2-9). Audiencia de Méjico. The abbreviation AGI is used for Archivo General de Indias where most of the material for this paper was obtained.

³ El dean y cabildo en sede vacante de la sta. iglesia catedral de Valladolid de Michoacán en Nueva España; propone á V. M. tres sugetos en terna para la provisión de la canongia penitenciaria vacante en ella. Valladolid, July 22, 1805, AGI, *ibid.*

When ordained, Manuel went with Archbishop Monroy to far-distant Guatemala. The prelate must have known of the stigma of the young man's birth and he understood that the State was opposed to such a person holding offices in the Church. The archbishop also knew that he had power to grant dispensation for defects of birth and, because Manuel was a worthy youth, he did not hesitate to take him to America. The young man advanced rapidly and rendered important services to the Church and State. He was appointed fiscal promoter and was made a lawyer of the royal audiencia. For five years he performed his duties faithfully and intelligently in the city of Comayaqua. Unfortunately, the withering climate of Guatemala did not agree with Abad y Queipo's health, and in 1784 he was permitted to go to Michoacán with Bishop Antonio de San Miguel. In the new field the bishop appointed him judge of wills, *capellanías*, ecclesiastical funds, and pious works.⁴ At that time the position was very important, since many legal matters came under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. For twenty years Abad y Queipo successfully performed the duties of that post; at the same time he learned to know and love the country and the people of New Spain. He examined personally all the documents submitted to him and judged cases humanely. It is said that for twenty-five years no criminal lawsuit ran its legal course in the region on account of the influence of this prudent man.⁵

⁴ Miguel de Naxera al ministro universal. Madrid, October 11, 1806, AGI, 1894 (92-5-2). Audiencia de Méjico; Representación del fiscal. Madrid, September 28, 1807, AGI, 2693 (97-2-9). Audiencia de Méjico; Expediente de Don Manuel Abad y Queipo presbitero en el obispado de Valladolid de Michoacán, sobre permiso para ocurrir a la silla apostólica a obtener cierto privilegio. Consejo, 1806, AGI 1894 (92-5-2). Audiencia de Méjico; El dean y cabildo en sede vacante de la sta. iglesia catedral de Valladolid de Michoacán en Nueva España; propone á V. M. tres sugetos en terna para la provisión de la conongia penitenciaria vacante en ella. Valladolid July 22 1805, AGI, 2693 (97-2-9). Audiencia de Méjico.

⁵ Queipo al Exmo. marqués Cavallero. Madrid, Aug. 22, 1807, AGI, 1895 (92-5-3). Audiencia de Méjico; Representación del ayuntamiento de la ciudad

Abad y Queipo was appointed to the vacant sacristry of León and later to the sacristry of Guanajuato. He was made visitor of the district of Río Verde and accompanied San Miguel in his diocesan visitations until the death of that beloved bishop in 1804. After the death of the prelate, Abad y Queipo continued to serve as judge of wills. He received the degree of *licenciado* and doctor in canon law from the University of Guadalajara. He was a promoter of education and tried to have the out-of-date courses of study in the colleges changed. As a man of peace he worked constantly with unremitting energy to conciliate turbulent individuals and to end lawsuits and public and private differences. During an epidemic of smallpox in 1793 he aided the sufferers with three hundred pesos. In 1804, at his own expense, he brought vaccine from the capital to Valladolid before the arrival of the philanthropic expedition coming from Spain with the life-saving fluid.⁶

The remuneration from the sacristry of Guanajuato was not sufficient for Abad y Queipo when certain other sources of income were discontinued after the death of the bishop. Accordingly, in 1806, he applied for the position of penitentiary canon in the cathedral of Valladolid which was vacant at that time; and, because of his services and good reputation, the Council of the Indies appointed him to the higher position.⁷

de Pátzquaro. Pátzquaro, August 29, 1809, AGI, 2571 (96-4-26). Audiencia de Méjico.

* El dean y cabildo en sede vacante de la sta. iglesia catedral de Valladolid de Michoacán en Nueva España; propone á V. M. tres sugetos. . . . Valladolid, July 22, 1805, AGI, 2693 (97-2-9). Audiencia de Méjico; Testimonio del expediente rotulado carta acordada del consejo pidiendo documentos e informe para resolver sobre el privilegio y dispensación que solicitó el presvitero licenciado Don Manuel Abad Queipo del obispado de Valladolid. Superior gobierno, año de 1806, AGI, 1894 (92-5-2). Audiencia de Méjico; Relación de los méritos y ejercicios literarios del Dr. Don Manuel Abad y Queipo. Valladolid, July 13, 1805 AGI, *ibid.*; Queipo al Exmo. marqués Cavallero. Madrid, August 22, 1807, AGI, 1895 (92-5-3). Audiencia de Méjico.

⁷ Expediente de Don Manuel Abad y Queipo presbitero en el obispado de

The ecclesiastic was so conscientious that several months before he competed for the canonship he asked permission to appeal to the pope requesting that the latter grant him the privilege of legitimacy of birth in order that there might be no doubt about his right to fill high church offices. His agent handled the matter in a bungling manner and Lorenzo de Alva, the fiscal, finding material with which to exercise his zeal and show his own importance, left no stone unturned in making the investigations, which were to cause the faithful ecclesiastic much distress.⁸ All the documents relative to the matter were collected from Mexico and Guatemala, and Abad y Queipo was suspended from the exercise of the functions of his new position until they could be examined.⁹ The documents were made public through the secretariat of the vice-royalty and many rumors spread in Mexico about Abad y Queipo, for he was very well known. It was said that he had denounced the pope, that he was not ordained, that he had a canonical impediment, that he was not baptized, and that he had incurred the anger of the king who ordered him to be deprived of his offices and benefices. The various false reports affected him so greatly that he became very ill.¹⁰

Valladolid de Michoacán, sobre permito para ocurrir a la silla apostólica a obtener cierto privilegio. Consejo, 1806, AGI, 1894 (92-5-2). Audiencia de Méjico; Camara de las Indias al rey. [Draft], Madrid, February 25, 1807 AGI, 2693 (97-2-9). Audiencia de Méjico.

⁸ Camara de las Indias al rey. December 5, 1806, AGI, 2545 (96-3-30). Audiencia de Méjico; El doctor Don Manuel Abad Queipo juez de testamentos, y capellanías del obispado de Michoacán propuesto en primer lugar para la penitenciaría vacante en aquella iglesia, suplica á V. M. se la confiera, con las demas gracias que sean de su real agrado, vastantes a cubrir la difamación que padece, de resultas del recurso reservado, y de conciencia que refiere. Mexico, March 15, 1806, AGI 1895 (92-5-3). Audiencia de Méjico; Queipo al Exmo. marqués Cavallero. Madrid, August 22, 1807, *ibid.*; Manuel Abad Queipo al rey. Madrid, September 16, 1807, AGI, 2693 (97-2-9). Audiencia de Méjico.

⁹ Expediente de Don Manuel Abad y Queipo presbitero en el obispado de Valladolid de Michoacán, sobre permito para ocurrir a la silla apostólica a obtener cierto privilegio. Consejo, 1806, AGI, 1894 (92-5-2). Audiencia de Méjico.

¹⁰ Expediente de Don Manuel Abad y Queipo presbitero en el obispado de

The viceroy considered the matter so important that he gave the ecclesiastic permission to go to Spain for two years to attend to it.¹¹ The long, hard journey to the mother country was undertaken by Abad y Queipo because his friends insisted that it was the only way to recover his lost reputation. Many dangers beset the voyage from Vera Cruz, which occurred in time of war and in the summer, but he reached Spain safely in the spring of 1807.¹² The Council of the Indies had already recommended that the king should permit him to retain his position and give him the right to fill high offices in the Church because of his good conduct, learning, and ability. This request was granted by the sovereign and a troublesome incident in Abad y Queipo's life was ended satisfactorily.¹³ It seems, however, that the ecclesiastic was not entirely satisfied with the outcome of his cause, and that he desired still more consideration from the monarch. He asked the king to order the viceroy and audiencia of Mexico to treat him as a nobleman in that kingdom, and the sovereign readily complied with his desire.¹⁴ Even this

Valladolid de Michoacán, sobre permiso para ocurrir a la silla apostólica a obtener cierto privilegio. Consejo, 1806 AGI, 1894 (92-5-2). Audiencia de Méjico; Camara de las Indias. Madrid, August 27, 1807 AGI, 1895 (92-5-2). Audiencia de Méjico; Queipo al ministro universal. Madrid, July 31, 1807, AGI, *ibid.*

¹¹ El virrey de N. E. Don José de Iturrigaray da cuenta con testimonio de haber concedido licencia por dos años para pasar á esta corte al Dr. Don Manuel Abad Queipo. . . . Mexico, June 26, 1806 num. 407, AGI, 1894 (92-5-2). Audiencia de Méjico.

¹² Fernando Cano al Señor Dr. Dn. Manuel Abad Queipo. Valladolid, February 7, 1806, núm. 3, AGI, 2693 (97-2-9). Audiencia de Méjico; Queipo al ministro universal. Madrid, July 31 1807, AGI, 1895 (92-5-3). Audiencia de Méjico; Queipo, Notas á la carta de la Inquisición de Mexico de 10 de Mayo de 1811. Madrid, October 7, 1818, AGI, 2571 (96-4-26). Audiencia de Méjico.

¹³ La camara de Indias. December 5, 1806, AGI 1895 (92-5-2). Audiencia de Méjico; Decreto del rey. Aranjuez, January 25, 1807, AGI, 1894 (92-5-2). Audiencia de Méjico.

¹⁴ Manuel Abad Queipo al rey, Madrid, September 16, 1807. AGI, 2693 (97-2-9). Audiencia de Méjico; El rey al virrey de Nueva España. San Lorenzo, October 17, 1807, AGI, *ibid.*

did not satisfy Abad y Queipo, for he requested the king to bestow upon him some higher honor, such as that of membership in the Council of the Indies in order to make amends for his disgrace.¹⁵ This burning ambition for recognition was a peculiar characteristic of his and it increased as he grew older.

A new period of influence and activity began for the ecclesiastic after his return to Mexico. He discharged the duties of the penitentiary canonship excellently and in 1809 another opportunity for advancement came with the death of the bishop. He was proposed for the position, for he was one of the best prepared and most capable men in the Church.¹⁶ The Council of the Indies appointed Abad y Queipo bishop of Michoacán in the name of the king and stated that while the papal bulls of confirmation were being obtained he might perform all the duties of the high office.¹⁷

The new bishop took charge of the administration of his bishopric on May 22, 1810, but, on account of the captivity of the king, the bull of confirmation was not obtained.¹⁸ Everything went well for the bishop-elect for some time; he was loved, honored, and respected. He was active in recommending efficient ecclesiastics when vacancies occurred in his

¹⁵ Camara de las Indias. Madrid, August 27, 1807, AGI, 1895 (92-5-3). Audiencia de Méjico; La camara de Indias á 5 de Dizre. de 1806, AGI, 2567 (96-4-22). Audiencia de Méjico.

¹⁶ La comisión de consultas. Cádiz, February 13, 1810, AGI, 2571 (96-4-26). Audiencia de Méjico; El cabildo sede vacante de la santa iglesia de Valladolid de Michoacán al rey. Valladolid, August 22, 1809, AGI, *ibid.*

¹⁷ Manuel Antonio Gómez al señor agente del rey nuestro señor en la corte para negocios en Roma. Cádiz, March 1, 1810, AGI, 2571 (96-4-26). Audiencia de Méjico; Josef Aznarez al secretario general del consejo de Indias. Cádiz, February 26, 1810, AGI, *ibid.*; Consejo de estado 20 de Agosto de 1821. [Signed] Vicente Casio Manuel á Juan de Madrid de Dávila. Palacio, August 19, 1821, AGI, 2568 (96-4-23). Audiencia de Méjico; El consejo de regencia en la isla de León á () de Febrero de 1810, al cabildo de la iglesia catedral de Valladolid de Michoacán. AGI, 2571 (96-4-26). Audiencia de Méjico.

¹⁸ Carta de Queipo á Vicente Casio Manuel. Madrid, August 25, 1821, AGI, *ibid.*

diocese. Although a Spaniard himself, he did not hesitate to recommend deserving American-born ecclesiastics.¹⁹

The Church and the clergy in America never had a more resolute defender than Abad y Queipo who upheld their rights and the ideas for which they stood. He believed in justice, righteousness, and progress, and accordingly never favored the medievalism, the inequalities, and uncompromising spirit which still survived in the Church. He worked incessantly to preserve the true spirit of the Church and to check the worldliness which was creeping into the venerable institution. The education of the clergy was a vital matter in which the bishop of Michoacán was greatly interested because he desired that ecclesiastics should be as well prepared as possible for their important work.²⁰ Abad y Queipo was active in founding convents in his diocese.²¹ He had great sympathy for the lower clergy and believed that it was doing a good work, since it was more in contact with the people.²²

The Mexican clergy became very wealthy and enjoyed many ecclesiastical revenues by the end of the eighteenth century. Abad y Queipo affirmed that the total capital from the pious funds was 45,500,000 pesos.²³ The wealth of the Church in Mexico received its greatest blow on December 26, 1804, when the court of Madrid decreed that the possessions of pious foundations should be alienated and the capital be collected into the treasury to aid Spain in the war with France.²⁴

¹⁹ Queipo al ministro universal de Indias. Valladolid, August 29, 1813, AGI, 2570 (96-4-25). Audiencia de Méjico; Abad Queipo al rey. Valladolid de Michoacán 22 de Diciembre de 1814, AGI, 2568 (96-4-23). Audiencia de Méjico.

²⁰ Don Manuel Abad Queipo . . . á todos sus habitantes paz y salud en nuestro Señor Jesucristo. Valladolid, March 7, 1811, AGI, 2383 (95-3-10). Audiencia de Méjico.

²¹ Consejo de estado 20 de Agosto de 1821. [Signed] Vicente Casio Manuel á Juan de Madrid de Dávila. Palacio, August 19, 1821, AGI, 2568 (96-4-23). Audiencia de Méjico.

²² "Representación sobre la inmunidad personal del clero". Valladolid, December 11, 1799. In José María Luis Mora, *Obras sueltas* (Paris, 1837), I. 64, 44.

²³ "Escrito presentado á D. Manuel Sisto Espinosa del consejo de estado". Madrid, 1807. In Mora, I. 101.

²⁴ Lucas Alamán, *Historia de Méjico* (Mexico, 1849-1852), I. 137-139.

The decree caused much opposition when the viceroy proceeded to carry it out literally. A loyal champion of the rights of the Church soon appeared in Abad y Queipo, who drew up petitions against the harmful decree. He showed that there were mistaken ideas about the pious funds of America, which were supposed to be very large and to consist of landed property as in Spain, and that a large part of the property was in mortmain without sufficient cultivation.²⁵ He declared that the capital from the pious funds was in living hands because it was in the possession of agents of agriculture, industry, and commerce. The alienation of those large funds and the collection of their interest would cause great harm since there was no silver accumulated in Mexico to pay them.²⁶

The Church was criticized because of the corruption which entered it as early as the beginning of the eighteenth century. Abad y Queipo avowed that on account of the lack of vigilance on the part of the ecclesiastical government and because of the misunderstood piety of the faithful who did not obey the commands of the Church, many persons of bad habits entered the clergy without education, talents, or virtues.²⁷ Some of the irresponsible members of the clergy committed crimes of a serious nature, but their frequency was apt to be exaggerated by civil authorities, as is the case at present. Abad y Queipo proved that the clergy was still an improvement over laymen, that their crimes were not as frequent as those of the latter, and that the good work of the Mexican clergy far overbalanced the deficiencies of certain of its careless members.²⁸ Ecclesiastical immunities were also energeti-

²⁵ "Representación á nombre de los labradores y comerciantes de Michoacán sobre la consolidación de vales reales." Valladolid, October 24, 1805. In Mora, I. 73-74, 76-77.

²⁶ "Escrito presentado á D. Manuel Sisto Espinosa del consejo de estado." Madrid, 1807. In Mora, I. 101, 105-106, 108-109; Alamán, I. 139-140.

²⁷ Queipo á sus diocesanos. March 7, 1811. In *Papeles varios*, 12, núm. 9, pp. 3-7.

²⁸ "Representación sobre la inmunidad personal del clero." Valladolid, December 11, 1799. In Mora, I. 45-46, 48-50.

cally upheld by the bishop-elect, but not in a fanatical manner.²⁹

The clergy took a leading part in the revolutionary movement in Mexico, but many also adhered to the old régime. It was probably owing to the influence of Abad y Queipo that many ecclesiastics did not join the revolution, because he issued one pastoral letter after another to the people of his diocese, in which he pointed out the horrors of war and denounced Hidalgo and his followers.³⁰ As he always had hopes that the king could make reforms and put down the revolts, he did not wish the clergy to be on the losing side.

Abad y Queipo was interested primarily in the people of New Spain and can be called "friend of the people". He advocated the reforms which he thought would make them happy and prosperous. He was convinced that all classes of people had an important place to fill in society and that all should be treated justly. He consequently upheld the rights of the creoles or individuals born in America and advised that they should be given equal opportunity to hold as high positions as the Europeans. He also thought that Mexico owed much to the European Spaniards or *gachupines*, since their wealth, talents, and energy had helped to develop the country. The fierce rivalry between the two classes saddened him and he realized that it would only lead to utter ruin.³¹

The despised castes also found a protector in Abad y Queipo, who asked for the abolition of the tribute which had stigmatized them with the brand of servitude.³² He saw many ways to improve the conditions of the Indians, who were like-

²⁹ *Ibid.*, I. 4-39, 41-49, 64.

³⁰ A sus diocesanos. Valladolid, 1812. In *Papeles varios*, 62, núm. 19, pp. 37-43.

³¹ "Edicto instructivo dirige á sus diocesanos." Valladolid, 1810. In *Papeles varios*, 62, núm. 16, pp. 12-13; Representación á S. M. en 20 de Julio de 1815 . . . sobre la situación política de nuestras Americas (MS.).

³² "Representación á la regencia . . ." Valladolid, May 30, 1810. In *Mora*, I. 149-150; Representación al rey. Valladolid, May 30, 1810, AGI, 2375 (95-4-2). Audiencia de Méjico.

wise dissatisfied with their place in the social, political, and economic system. On account of their isolation they clung tenaciously to their own language, customs, usages, and superstitions.³³ At least one of the proposed reforms for the benefit of the people was put into effect: the hated tribute was abolished by the Spanish Cortes during the insurrection, as a means to keep the people loyal to the royal cause. This was done because of the repeated entreaties of the bishop of Michoacán.³⁴

As promoter of the public welfare Abad y Queipo is seen at his best, as this field was large enough for his intense energy to find an outlet. His economic ideas were very progressive, and he enthusiastically advocated free commerce and the abolition of the old economic restrictions which had hindered the development of the colonies for so long.³⁵ He sincerely hoped that the government would permit a reciprocal commerce with all the other Spanish possessions and foreign commerce under the conditions which were best for the welfare of the state, in accordance with the trend of the times.³⁶

Industry, too, was a subject of vital interest to Abad y Queipo who greatly desired that it should be developed as much as possible for the benefit of the people and the country.³⁷ The promotion of agriculture was also considered necessary for economic prosperity. He therefore advised the removal of the many heavy burdens and impositions upon

³³ "Representación sobre la inmunidad personal del clero . . ." In Mora, I, 54-56.

³⁴ Consulta del consejo de las Indias. Madrid, October 6, 1814, AGI, 1144 (88-1-7). Audiencia de Méjico; El secretario del despacho de hacienda. Cádiz, September 20, 1813, AGI, *ibid.*; Los señores del consejo de Indias. Cadiz, January 26, 1811, AGI, *ibid.*

³⁵ "Representación á nombre de los laboradores y comerciantes de Michoacán." Valladolid, October 24, 1805. In Mora, I, 95; "Edicto presentado á D. Manuel Sisto Espinosa del consejo de estado . . ." Madrid, 1807; *ibid.*, I, 104.

³⁶ "Representación al real acuerdo de Mexico." Valladolid, March 16, 1809, *ibid.*, I, 123.

³⁷ "Escrito presentado á D. Manuel Sisto Espinosa del consejo de estado . . ." Madrid, 1807. In Mora, I, 113-114.

agriculture.³⁸ Reform of manufacture was frequently requested by the bishop, because it was rather limited. He favored the free permission of factories for the manufacture of cotton and woollen goods so that the people might have plenty of coarse cloth for clothing and might find employment.³⁹

Finance in Mexico was a subject which interested every public-spirited man, and Abad y Queipo tried to find means to better the unsatisfactory conditions and to bring revenue into the treasury. Cash for circulation was scarce and capital for all kinds of enterprises.⁴⁰ Many and unusual taxes had to be imposed as a result of the deficit in the treasury and to meet the additional expenses caused by the insurrections. The shrewd ecclesiastic was very much opposed to voluntary and forced loans, for they fell heavily upon a few people. In 1819, when a loan of 20,000,000 pesos was asked he declared that it would be very harmful and could not be paid because there was not sufficient money in the country to cover it, even if all the silver should be taken from the churches. He also pointed out the fact that the people were getting tired of so many contributions to the mother country.⁴¹ Abad y Queipo drew up a plan for financial reform for both Spain and Mexico which was sent to the king in 1811. The plan contained many wise suggestions and showed that its author had sound financial ideas, but it was never put into effect.⁴²

³⁸ "Representación á nombre de los labradores y comerciantes de Michoacán . . ." Valladolid, October 24, 1805. In Mora, I. 87-91.

³⁹ "Escrito presentado á D. Manuel Sisto Espinosa del consejo de estado. . ." *Ibid.*, I. 111-113.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, I. 106; "Representación á nombre de los labradores y comerciantes de Michoacán . . ." In Mora, I. 78.

⁴¹ "Representación al arzobispo virrey sobre dificultades de executar la real cédula de Marzo de 1809, sobre el prestamo de 20,000,000 pesos." Valladolid, August 14, 1809. In Mora, I. 127-129; Al rey. Valladolid, May 30, 1810, AGI, 2375 (95-4-2). Audiencia de Méjico; "Representación á uno de los vocales de la junta de comercio para realizar el prestamo de 20,000,000 pesos." In Mora, I. 143-144.

⁴² Proyecto para socorrer de pronto á la nación en sus actuales angustias con

Politics and matters of administration were also of paramount interest to Abad y Queipo for he knew that the power and strength of a nation depended upon good government. Some of his political views were conservative and others were quite liberal. He did not favor innovations in government during periods of agitation, because this would be very dangerous as was shown by events in France.⁴³ He did not believe in a national junta in the provinces of an empire; he thought it would alter the established government, break the constitution of the state, and was an act of real rebellion for it presupposed a sovereign and independent nation.⁴⁴ On the other hand, he stated

America cannot be kept by the maxims of Philip II. The system of monopoly and of general prohibition, which has governed until now and has degraded the nation . . . shall cease for always. A new system more just and liberal, but also more vigorous and energetic, is necessary.⁴⁵

The abuses of the political administration were only too well known to Abad y Queipo and he hoped that they might be remedied. The *alcaldes mayores*, who were merchants rather than judges, contributed much to the pitiful condition of the natives.⁴⁶ The whole system of government, according to the bishop, had greatly relaxed after the death of the famous Charles III. He thought that the dependencies could

cincuenta millones de pesos. Valladolid, February 2, 1811, núm. 1, AGI, 2383 (95-3-10). Audiencia de Méjico; "Escrito presentado á D. Manuel Sisto Espinosa del consejo de estado." In Mora, I. 109-110, 114, 116; "Representación á la primera regencia . . ." *Ibid.*, I. 150-156; Representacion al rey. Valladolid, May 30, 1810, AGI, 2375 (95-4-2). Audiencia de Méjico.

⁴³ "Representación á la junta central en que se reproducen los dos escritos del numero antecedente y se proponen medios para socerrar la patria." Valladolid, August 18, 1809. In Mora, I. 137.

⁴⁴ Carta pastoral del ilustrisimo señor obispo electo y gobernador del obispado de Michoacán. Valladolid, September 26, 1812, núm. 3. In *Colección de varios Escritos del Abad Queipo*, pp. 29-32.

⁴⁵ Representación á la primera regencia . . . Valladolid, May 30, 1810, AGI, 2375 (95-4-2). Audiencia de Méjico.

⁴⁶ "Representación sobre la inmunidad personal del clero." In Mora, I. 56-57.

only be kept by a just, wise, and energetic government reduced to an efficient system of which the colonies should be a part.⁴⁷ In his opinion the viceroys, captains-general, and the governors should always be extraordinary men with proved military talents and of firm character, not the mediocre individuals so often appointed.⁴⁸

The viceroys of the revolutionary period fell far short of Abad y Queipo's ideal and he kept asking for a military viceroy of great learning, ability, and efficiency.⁴⁹ He pointed out to Viceroy Calleja the need for a thorough study of the military situation in Mexico, the vice committed in the direction of the war, and the unsatisfactory policy which despoiled the treasury, but Calleja did not thank him for his advice. The viceroy reported to the minister of state that he was a meddlesome man who interfered in matters which did not concern him.⁵⁰

Abad y Queipo was able to read the signs of the age and see ahead farther than most public functionaries and the chief executive or no other person could silence his criticism of the administration when this was considered necessary for the good of the country. The fearless man did not spare the government of Spain in his criticism. He showed that the American insurgents had their agents at the court and that they knew how to influence the cortes and keep the truth about important matters from going to the king. He even dared to point out the mistakes of the minister of the Indies, Lardizábal, whom he accused of sympathizing with the rebels in the

⁴⁷ Representación á S. M. en 20 de Junio de 1815 . . . sobre la situación política de nuestras Americas (MS.).

⁴⁸ Al rey. Valladolid, October 1, 1814, AGI, 2571 (96-4-26). Audiencia de Méjico; A Félix María Calleja. Valladolid, September 14, 1814, AGI, *ibid.*

⁴⁹ Representación á S. M. en 20 de Junio de 1815 . . . sobre la situación política de nuestras Americas (MS.); Representación al rey. Valladolid, May 30, 1810, AGI, 2375 (95-4-2). Audiencia de Méjico.

⁵⁰ Representación á S. M. en 20 de Junio de 1815 . . . sobre la situación política de nuestras Americas (MS.). Félix María Calleja al ministro de gracia y justicia. Mexico, October 31, 1814, núm. 27 reservada, AGI, 2568 (96-4-23). Audiencia de Méjico.

dependencies, elevating unfaithful persons to the highest offices, and hiding from the king the dangerous situation in Mexico. The public-spirited ecclesiastic did not hesitate to suggest political reforms, and if they could have been strictly adopted no doubt many difficulties might have been avoided.⁵¹

No one realized the dangers of revolution more than Abad y Queipo and no one made as great efforts to check them as he. The insufficiency of the colonial military forces to combat an insurrection was well known to him for many years. He believed in preparedness and long before the war broke out asked for a better army and navy for defense.⁵² He tried to make the king and his ministers understand the serious consequences of a revolt in such a large dependency, and he wrote many letters to warn them of the approaching disturbance which he could clearly foresee. When the revolution of Hidalgo began in September of 1810, Abad y Queipo did his best to check it.⁵³ He remained in Valladolid as long as possible. Even when Guanajuato was conquered and the rebel army approached his city he did not abandon his church. When the vanguard of Hidalgo was only five leagues away the people of Valladolid decided to flee. Some of them were captured, but the bishop avoided this by taking another road. He remained in Mexico City for two months until the royal troops reconquered Valladolid. Then he returned to his church in the midst of dangers and exposed himself to seizure on the road.⁵⁴

In 1815, the situation in Mexico was more dangerous and

⁵¹ Representación á S. M. en 20 de Junio de 1815 . . . sobre la situación política de nuestras Americas (MS.).

⁵² "Representación á nombre de los labradores y comerciantes de Michoacán . . ." In Mora, I. 75.

⁵³ "Edicto instructivo dirige á sus diocesanos." *Valladolid*, September 30, 1810. In *Papeles varios*, 12, núm. 14, p. 3 *et seq.*

⁵⁴ Notas á la carta de la Inquisición de Mexico de 10 de Mayo de 1811. Madrid, October 7, 1818, AGI, 2571 (96-4-26). Audiencia de Méjico; El cabildo de la santa iglesia catedral de Valladolid de Michoacán, á los pies de V. M. implora el soberno patrocinio, en favor de su obispo electo Don Manuel Abad y Queipo. Valladolid, December 9, 1816, AGI, *ibid.*; Alamán, I. 466.

the bishop-elect still felt that the king did not recognize its significance. On June 20, before leaving for Spain, he addressed to the monarch what was known as his political will; in it he freely expressed his opinion about the serious nature of the insurrection. He maintained that a powerful coalition of enemies of the state existed, that it was connected with a group of French masons, which had established lodges in the Spanish empire since 1810, and that in Mexico it controlled the mass of the people.⁵⁵

All great public-spirited men sooner or later make some enemies and Abad y Queipo was no exception. His uncompromising spirit, obstinacy in upholding his ideas, his fearlessness, and outspoken manner caused his enemies to multiply. On the eve of the revolution in Mexico many people seemed to think that he represented the advanced ideas and progressive spirit of the century. Four cities elected him their deputy to represent them in the cortes of Spain.⁵⁶ He did not go to the Peninsula until he was summoned by the king in 1814, and in the meantime the insurgents recognized that, although he believed in reforms, he was supporting the old régime.

The revolutionists were especially hostile to the bishop because he would not accept their plan for independence. Both Morelos and Dr. José Cos bitterly denounced him on several occasions.⁵⁷ He very ably refuted the arguments of both of these men against him in an edict of May 18, 1814. He discussed the injustice of war for the good of the revolters, tried to show them that the mother country would soon

⁵⁵ Representación á S. M. en 20 de Junio de 1815 . . . sobre la situación política de nuestras Americas (MS.).

⁵⁶ Representación del ayuntamiento de la ciudad de Pátzquaro. Pátzquaro, August 29, 1809, AGI, 2571 (96-4-26). Audiencia de Méjico; El cabildo sede vacante de la santa iglesia de Valladolid de Michoacán al rey. Valladolid, August 22, 1819, AGI, *ibid.*

⁵⁷ Bando de José María Cos. Pátzquaro, March 27, 1814, AGI, 2571 (96-4-26). Audiencia de Méjico; José María Cos al Sr. dean y cabildo de la sta. iglesia catedral de Valladolid. April 20, 1814, AGI, *ibid.*

put down the rebellion, enumerated the benefits enjoyed by the Spanish colonies, and maintained that the conditions in the thirteen English colonies had been entirely different from those in Mexico. In this edict he also predicted the turbulent times which would follow the winning of independence on account of lack of experience in self-government—a prophecy which was fulfilled later.⁵⁸ It seems that Cos repented concerning the course he had taken and asked forgiveness of Abad y Queipo. The bishop showed the goodness of his character when he pardoned Cos, one of his most dangerous enemies.⁵⁹

The Spaniards and the colonists felt the heavy hand of the narrow-minded Ferdinand VII. when he was restored to the throne in 1814. He refused to recognize the appointment of bishops of America made by former administrations.⁶⁰ On August 23, 1814, the Council of the Indies gave account to the king of Abad y Queipo's appointment to the bishopric of Michoacán and recommended that the sovereign should ask for the bull of confirmation without delay. Unfortunately, the ministry of the Indies showed that the inquisition of Mexico had a case against the ecclesiastic and naturally the matter of his confirmation to office was postponed.⁶¹

The fiber and character of Abad y Queipo were to be tested again when his enemies tried to deprive him of his bishopric. The real reason why they wanted to get rid of him was that he had been too active in Mexico. The revolutionists hated him for trying to interfere with their plans and the conservatives did not favor his proposed reforms. In the

⁵⁸ Edicto publicado por el Illmo. Señor Don Manuel Abad Queipo, obispo electo y gobernador de Michoacán. Valladolid, July 22, 1814, AGI, *ibid.*; Bando de Queipo. Valladolid, May 18, 1814, AGI, *ibid.*

⁵⁹ Carta de José María Cos á Queipo. Pátzcuaro, Feb. 16, 1818, AGI, *ibid.*

⁶⁰ Camara extraordinaria de 11 de Agosto de 1814, AGI, *ibid.*

⁶¹ Consejo de estado 20 de Agosto de 1821. [Signed] Vicente Casio Manuel á Juan de Madrid de Dávila. Palacio, August 19, 1821, AGI, 2568 (96-4-23). Audiencia de Méjico; La camara de Indias. August 11, 1817, AGI, 2571 (96-4-26). Audiencia de Méjico.

Gazeta de Madrid of January 7, 1814, he first saw a statement that the king had appointed José María Villaseñor for his bishopric. Then he realized that his enemies had been plotting against him.⁶² In September, he received from the ministry of the Indies an order to come to Spain. It said, The king considering the distinguished merits and well known qualities of your Holiness and needing you near his royal person to approve of your talents and learning has been pleased to order that you come to this court as soon as possible.⁶³

The motive for the summons seemed to be honorable, but it was perhaps a pretext to get him out of Mexico and his departure in the middle of 1815 was celebrated by the insurgents.⁶⁴

At first, things seemed to go well for Abad y Queipo in Spain; he presented himself to the king and spoke with ease, explaining his ideas clearly. The sovereign seemed to be so fascinated with his rare intellect that on January 24, 1816, he appointed him attorney-general.⁶⁵ Then when the good man had his hopes aroused because of receiving the royal favor, out of a clear sky like a thunderbolt three days later he received another royal dispatch which said,

The king our Lord has been pleased to decide that your Excellency shall not be attorney-general because his Majesty has learned that your Excellency has a case pending in the tribunal of the Holy Inquisition.⁶⁶

At the trial by the inquisition, Abad y Queipo very ably supported the validity of his appointment to the bishopric of Michoacán.⁶⁷ He declared that he enjoyed all the rights which

⁶² Representación del dean de la catedral de Valladolid. [Copy] Valladolid, August 6, 1815, AGI, 2571 (96-4-26). Audiencia de Méjico.

⁶³ Real orden de su llamamiento á la corte. Madrid, September 13, 1814, AGI, *ibid.*

⁶⁴ Carta de Queipo al rey. Valladolid, February 20, 1815, AGI, *ibid.*

⁶⁵ Real decreto de su nombramiento en propiedad para el ministerio de gracia y justicia. Madrid, January 24, 1816, 2571 (96-4-26). Audiencia de Méjico.

⁶⁶ Real orden suspendiendole en el ministerio. Palacio, January 27, 1816, AGI, *ibid.*; Queipo á Don Pedro Ceballos. Madrid, January 27, 1816, AGI, *ibid.*

⁶⁷ Carta de Queipo al rey, Madrid, June 12, 1816, AGI, *ibid.*

belonged to bishops-elect and those confirmed by the pope, and no one but the Holy See could depose him.⁶⁸ The Council of State recognized the validity of his appointment, but the matter of the restoration to the bishopric of Michoacán could not be arranged until the case of the inquisition against him was decided. The case was a source of great annoyance to the ecclesiastic, although the outcome of it only proved the greatness of his character. The root of the trouble was his appointment to the bishopric of Michoacán and not receiving the papal confirmation. Then too he had progressive ideas and did not hesitate to read liberal books. In his conversation he expressed with much freedom the opinions of the great philosophers of the eighteenth century. The religious of the Carmelite Order of Valladolid, therefore, denounced him to the inquisition of Mexico.⁶⁹ Some jealousy also existed toward the bishop-elect on the part of the inquisitors, Bernardo de Prado and Isidoro Sáinz de Alfaro. It seems that Prado had been suggested for the position of bishop of Michoacán in 1819 and was defeated by Abad y Queipo.⁷⁰

The ecclesiastic was accused of two kinds of crime, one relative to religion and the other to disloyalty.⁷¹ It was said that he was a friend of Hidalgo for twenty-eight or thirty years and had helped to stir up rebellion. In a letter of May 10, 1811, the inquisition of Mexico stated that, according to what was shown in his writings and by the reports of witnesses, Abad y Queipo was a careless ecclesiastic. It declared that the people and clergy of Michoacán asked for him as their bishop because they agreed with his revolutionary ideas and wanted to live irreligiously.⁷²

⁶⁸ Camara de las Indias. Madrid, November 29, 1815, AGI, 2571 (96-4-24). Audiencia de Méjico; Carta de Queipo al rey. Valladolid, February 20, 1815, AGI, *ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Diccionario universal de Historia y de Geografía* (Mexico, 1855-1856), I. 5.

⁷⁰ Alamán, I. 70-71; Propuesta del arzobispado virrey Lizana para la mitre de Valladolid. Mexico, August 8, 1809, AGI, 2571 (96-4-26). Audiencia de Méjico.

⁷¹ José Varas al rey. Mexico, 1815, AGI, 2568 (96-4-23). Audiencia de Méjico.

⁷² Carta de la Inquisición de México de 10 de Mayo de 1811. AGI, 2571 (96-4-26). Audiencia de Méjico.

When the letter of May 10 was written the Supreme Council of the Inquisition did not exist because of the French occupation of Spain. Neither the letter nor the documents concerning Abad y Queipo's case could be sent to a tribunal not in existence. They should have been submitted to the archbishop of Mexico as was done with all the other papers of the extinguished tribunal, but they were kept by Prado and Alfaro for an opportune occasion. In 1814, as soon as the inquisition was reëstablished, the two men attacked the bishop with these documents and denounced him to the minister of the Indies. Prado soon influenced the Supreme Council of the Inquisition in Spain and Señor Campillo, as its representative, was persuaded to go in person to ask the king to remove Abad y Queipo from the position of attorney general. The charges trumped up against the ecclesiastic were very weak. The Supreme Council of Spain considered them and found no reason to doubt his innocence.⁷³ The Council of the Indies declared that on the charge of disloyalty his merits were so abundant that his fidelity could not be doubted, and all the papers in which his enemies tried to prove his complicity with the schemes of Hidalgo were rejected as false. This did not satisfy the Mexican insurgents who kept clamoring that he should not return to America.⁷⁴

Matters became more complicated when Abad y Queipo asserted that the Holy Office did not have authority to try his case, for only the pope could take cognizance of cases of bishops.⁷⁵ The inquisition immediately denied this and the result was that the tribunal became more obstinate after its powers were questioned. In March of 1816, it summoned the ecclesiastic to appear before it, but he refused to obey.⁷⁶ When

⁷³ Queipo, *Notas á la carta de la Inquisición de México de Mayo de 1811*. Madrid, October 7, 1818, AGI, 2571 (96-4-26). Audiencia de Méjico.

⁷⁴ Consulta de la camara de las Indias á 1 de Julio de 1816. AGI, *ibid.*

⁷⁵ Carta de Queipo al rey. Madrid, June 12, 1816, AGI, *ibid.*

⁷⁶ Camara de Indias. Madrid 13 de Junio de 1816, AGI, *ibid.*; Carta de Queipo al decano de la Inquisición de corte, D. Luis Cubero. Madrid, March 26, 1816, AGI, *ibid.*

he tenaciously resisted several summons, the Holy Office decided to use more drastic means. A little after dark on June 8, 1816, he was arrested by four bailiffs of the inquisition at the entrance of his house and placed in a vehicle which took him to the Dominican convent of Rosario.⁷⁷

The ecclesiastic was confined there for two months, he was still determined to uphold his rights, and declared that the inquisition could not try his case.⁷⁸ At the end of two months the inquisitor, Campillo, visited the convent with his notary, but he could not come to any agreement with the stubborn old man. He repeated his visit a second and a third time; he told the bishop that if he would submit peacefully to the tribunal he would be exonerated and his case would be finished to his satisfaction. After consulting a friend Abad y Queipo came to terms with the Holy Office and the case was ended so completely that no doubt remained concerning his innocence and he was set free.⁷⁹ The inquisition also threw out the charge that he was a follower of Hidalgo, because his denunciation and excommunication of the leader of the rebellion were well known. Abad y Queipo was finally restored to his former position, but he never returned to Mexico to perform the duties of his bishopric, for the king was determined to keep the bold, energetic ecclesiastic away from America.⁸⁰

Abad y Queipo lived peacefully in Madrid until the revolution of 1820 came to draw him from his retirement. He was chosen a member of the provincial junta created to guard the conduct of Ferdinand VII. until the meeting of the national congress. The king afterward appointed him bishop of Tortosa in Spain, but he never obtained the papal bulls

⁷⁷ Carta de Miguel de Nájera al ministro. Madrid, July 8, 1816, AGI, *ibid.*; Camara de Indias. Madrid 8 de Julio de 1816. AGI, *ibid.*

⁷⁸ Queipo á Pedro Cevallos. Madrid, July 8, 1816, AGI, *ibid.*; Camara de Indias. Madrid 8 de Julio de 1816, AGI, *ibid.*

⁷⁹ Queipo, Notas á la carta de la Inquisición de México de 10 de Mayo de 1811. Madrid, October 7, 1818, AGI, 2571 (96-4-26). Audiencia de Méjico.

⁸⁰ Juan de Madrid de Dávila al secretario de despacho de gracia y justicia. Palacio, March 20, 1822, AGI, *ibid.*

relative to that position. He was also elected deputy to the cortes from his province of Asturias, but his deafness hindered him in discharging the duties of that office. The absolutist reaction of 1823 filled the last days of the ecclesiastic with bitterness and sorrow; he was caught again in the web of perfidy and intrigue.⁸¹ On May 25, 1824, he was arrested by royal order, because he was considered a liberal and had been a member of the provincial junta. He wrote, on May 27, a long exposition to the king asking pardon. He pleaded that he was an old man of seventy-three, deaf, with weak eyesight, lacking in strength, and extremely poor.⁸² That document was examined by the Council of the Indies and was not received favorably.⁸³

In the meantime, like a wretched criminal, Abad y Queipo was forced to cross the mountains of Santander and Castile on the way to Madrid; he was taken to the court prison where he remained for four months, suffering poverty, bitterness, and abandonment.⁸⁴ The criminal chamber sentenced him to six years of seclusion in the convent of Sisle outside the walls of Toledo. The bishop begged that this sentence should be removed as he was then seventy-four years old and he feared he would die before the six-year term of exile ended. He asked pardon that he might go to Montpellier in France and that he

⁸¹ *Diccionario universal de Historia y Geografía*, I. 5; Juan de Madrid de Dávila al secretario de despacho de gracia y justicia. Palacio, March 20, 1822, AGI, 2571 (96-4-26). Audiencia de Méjico; El consejo de Indias evacuando el informe que se le mandó dar en 8 de Junio ultimo sobre la exposición de Don Manuel Abad y Queipo obispo electo de Michoacán. Madrid 23 de Julio de 1824, AGI, 136-6-8. Indiferente General de Nueva España.

⁸² Al rey. Castro Urdiales, May 27, 1824, AGI, (136-6-8). Indiferente General de Nueva España.

⁸³ El consejo de Indias al rey. Madrid, July 23, 1824, AGI, *ibid.*; El consejo de Indias evacuando el informe que se le mandó dar en el 8 de Junio ultimo sobre la exposición de Don Manuel Abad y Queipo obispo electo de Michoacán. Madrid 23 de Julio de 1824, AGI, *ibid.*

⁸⁴ Queipo al Señor Don Francisco Tadeo Calomande, secretario de estado y del despacho universal de gracia y justicia. Madrid, January, 1825, AGI, 2571 (96-4-26). Audiencia de Méjico.

be granted a pension in order to live there.⁸⁵ From his retreat, Abad y Queipo wrote many pathetic letters to the king and his ministers, but they only turned a deaf ear to him, for they deemed him a troublesome, stubborn, and querulous old man. The prior of the convent reported that the unfortunate ecclesiastic could not pay for his food unless the king granted him a pension and the religious community was poor.⁸⁶

The last days of Abad y Queipo were days of loneliness and suffering. He was in disfavor with the king, misfortune closed in upon him, and he died on September 15, 1825, in the convent of Sisla in misery, poverty, and obscurity.⁸⁷ A great man, the exponent of a new régime, thus disappeared from the stage of life unmourned and forgotten, but the curtain of oblivion did not fall entirely for the imprint of his thought and the memory of his good works lived on through his writings, and many of his wise ideas were put into effect later in Mexico after the winning of independence.

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⁸⁵ El gobernador del consejo real en 18 de Junio de 1824. Madrid, AGI, *ibid.*

⁸⁶ El gobernador del consejo de 14 de Agosto de 1824. Madrid, AGI, *ibid.*

⁸⁷ Pedro López Castro, vecino de esta corte. 1824, AGI, *ibid.*

AN ABORTIVE ATTEMPT AT ANGLO-SPANISH COMMERCIAL COÖPERATION IN THE FAR EAST IN 1793

Among the achievements of the younger Pitt in commerce and finance during the first decade of his ministry before the French Revolution put a stop to all schemes of rehabilitation and reform, the commercial treaty with France, negotiated by Sir William Eden (later Lord Auckland), is well known to all students of English history. Little or no attention has, however, been paid to the attempts which went on simultaneously to reach a commercial agreement with Spain. These have an interest for us not so much on account of the negotiations with regard to English trade with Spain itself, which do not differ from any other commercial negotiations of a similar type, but because they gave rise to discussions and proposals for agreements concerning the trade of India, China, the Philippines, and Spanish America, which reveal the world-wide ambitions of many British merchants and make still more evident their insatiable desire to engross the trade of Spanish America as their ultimate goal.

The Anglo-Spanish commercial negotiations of this period naturally grew out of the ninth article of the treaty of peace of September 1783,¹ which provided that both sovereigns should appoint commissioners to conclude a commercial treaty. In accordance therewith, George III., in January, 1785, appointed as commissioner, Mr. (later Sir) Ralph Woodford, formerly British resident at the Hanse towns and envoy to the court of Denmark.² There then ensued years of

¹ Martens, *Recueil des Traités* (2d ed. Göttingen 1826), III. 547.

² Ralph Woodford, of Carleby, Lincs., cr. bart. June 21, 1791; formerly resident at the Hanse Towns, late minister-extraordinary to the court of Denmark; m. May 19, 1773, Gertrude, dau. and co-heiress of Reesen, had issue Ralph-James, governor of Trinidad, and one dau. Elizabeth, m. June 14, 1801, John Hammett.

tedious and fruitless negotiation, which fill four large volumes at the Public Record Office.³ It appears that the Spanish government persisted in maintaining that the treaty of 1783 had placed in abeyance all commercial privileges granted Englishmen by former treaties. British merchants were, therefore, continually harassed by Spanish decrees which, in their opinion, regulated duties in accordance with the whim of the moment.⁴ Nevertheless, it is evident from Woodford's correspondence with the British consuls in Spain that, on the whole, British trade was not seriously hampered while he and the Spanish ambassador exchanged note after note. The course of these negotiations may be summarized briefly. In September, 1786, the British Cabinet rejected the Spanish reply to Mr. Woodford's first *projet*, and decided that the business of concluding the French treaty of commerce should be given preference. In March, 1787, the negotiations were transferred to Madrid where they languished until the middle of 1788 when Sir William Eden (Lord Auckland), with the French treaty already to his credit, revived the Spanish *projet* by submitting a new draft, which, in its turn, was vetoed by the cabinet.⁵ This deadlock continued until the Nootka Sound dispute brought the two courts to the verge of war in the spring of 1790, and thus put an end to all prospect of agreement.⁶

This dispute about British traders' rights on the north-west coast of America naturally turned Mr. Woodford's attention to the problems of the Pacific and the China trade, especially as it was his duty to negotiate a settlement of the Nootka claims after Spain had acceded to the British demands for redress in October, 1790. His negotiations on this sub-

Sir Ralph Woodford died August 26, 1810. His father was Matthew Woodford of Southampton. See Debrett, *Baronetage* (1815 ed.), II, 958.

³ F. O. 72/29-32.

⁴ F. O. 72/29-30 *passim*.

⁵ F. O. 72/31. Woodford to Grenville, August 20, 1791. This letter summarizes all previous negotiations.

⁶ For an account of this dispute, see W. R. Manning, *The Nootka Sound Controversy*, Washington, 1905.

ject with the Spanish consul-general, Las Heras, consumed the whole of the two following years, 1791 and 1792.⁷ In the course of this business, Mr. Woodford became well acquainted with the Spanish attempts to take part, via the Philippines, in the fur trade between America and China.⁸ The Nootka claimants, who insisted that the sums offered by Spain would not suffice to pay their debts, appealed for relief to the East India Company and complained bitterly when forced to sell for eight guineas each skins valued according to their calculations at seventeen guineas each.⁹ Having realized about £10,000 in this manner, they continued to fight for a higher award than the 200,000 Spanish dollars which Woodford had wrung from a very reluctant Spanish government after more than a year of bargaining. Finally, Lord Grenville, the foreign secretary, intervened, secured an offer of 210,000 Spanish dollars, forced the claimants to agree to it, and dismissed Sir Ralph Woodford from the service in February, 1793, there being no further hope of making a commercial treaty with Spain.¹⁰ Sir Ralph was, of course, much incensed by this conduct, appealed for an increase in his retirement allowance, and cast about for some means of putting to use all the information he had so laboriously gathered during his years of negotiating with Spanish agents.¹¹ Balked in his hopes of an Anglo-Spanish commercial agreement in Europe, he turned to the east and attempted to bring about a commercial entente between the English East India Company and the Spanish Royal Philippine Company.

It seems that during the final stages of the negotiation with the Nootka claimants, when Sir Ralph Woodford was trying

⁷ F. O. 72/31 and 32.

⁸ F. O. 72/32. Memorandum of Nootka claimants, January, 1792. In 1790, Don Ninante Maximi arrived in Canton to conduct a Spanish fur trade via Manila.

⁹ F. O. 72/32. Woodford to Grenville, September 12, 1792.

¹⁰ F. O. 72/32. Woodford to Grenville, January 19, 1793, January 21, 1793, February 2, 1793, June 13, 1792; Grenville to Woodford, February 25, 1793.

¹¹ F. O. 72/32. Woodford to Grenville, March 1, 1793.

to revive the earlier commercial negotiation, Grenville had suggested to him that it might be well to look into the possibilities of Philippine trade.¹² In August, 1792, Woodford had, therefore, drawn up a paper entitled "Considerations for Concerting a commercial arrangement with the Philippine Islands".¹³ To this, he now reverted in the spring of 1793, when out of employment. As soon as the war with France and the conclusion of a political alliance between England and Spain in May, 1793,¹⁴ made success probable, he had laid his schemes before William Devaynes,¹⁵ chairman of the East India Directors, and Henry Dundas, then home secretary and president of the Board of Control for India.

For an understanding of these projects, it should be borne in mind that they were made possible by the change in Spanish policy in the last quarter of the eighteenth century which attempted to link the Philippines with Spain as well as with Spanish America. Prior to 1760, the islands had been, as it were, an appanage of New Spain trading solely with Acapulco in Mexico by means of an annual galleon. Politically, administratively, and financially, they were in the west not in the east, and all communication with Spain took place via Spanish America. About that date, this situation began to change, largely as a result of the suggestions of Francisco de Viana and others.¹⁶ Spanish men-of-war sailed direct to the islands and carried a small amount of goods with them.¹⁷ Moreover, the monopoly of the Acapulco galleon, which was

¹² F. O. 72/32. Woodford to Grenville, August 2, 1792.

¹³ Melville MSS. Unless otherwise stated the Melville MSS. referred to are those in the writer's possession.

¹⁴ Martens, *Recueil des Traites*, 2d ed., V. 473, Convention of Aranjuez.

¹⁵ William Devaynes, M.P. Barnstaple 1774-1796, 1802-1806, Official Return (Parl. Papers, LXII, 1878) II. 151, 177, 189, 217. M.P. Winchelsea December, 1796 (by election) 1802, *ibid.*, II. 210. Chairman East India Company 1785-1786, 1793-1794. Melville MSS., Woodford to Dundas, June 27, 1793.

¹⁶ W. L. Schurz, "The Royal Philippine Company", *HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, III. 491-508.

¹⁷ R. D. Hussey, *The Caracas Company 1728-1784* (Cambridge, Mass., 1934), p. 204.

strongly maintained as a vested interest by the leading creole families and ecclesiastical authorities at Manila,¹⁸ was somewhat encroached upon after the establishment of San Blas as a naval port on the coast of Mexico in the 1760's. As is well known, Russian activity in the north Pacific caused the Spaniards to send out more than one expedition to the northwest coast of America in succeeding decades.¹⁹ In the 1770's, merchant frigates which cannot be positively classed as Acapulco galleons began to ply infrequently between Manila and San Blas in both directions,²⁰ and by 1782 Acapulco had definitely lost its privileged position as the exclusive depot for the Philippine trade.²¹ The great possibilities for the future of Spanish participation in the profits of the fur sales at Canton by means of a triangular trade based on Manila, Nootka Sound, and San Blas or Acapulco were now distinctly envisaged.²² After the American war, the impending dissolu-

¹⁸ Schurz, *loc. cit.* See also his articles, "Acapulco and the Manila Galleon", *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXII. 18-37; and "The Manila Galleon and California", *ibid.* XXI. 108-126.

¹⁹ For much of the information in this paragraph, I am indebted to Dr. Vernon D. Tate of the University of California who very kindly read this article in typescript and allowed me to see the notes on this period used in the preparation of his work on Spanish maritime history in the Pacific.

²⁰ In the late 1760's a thirty-ton schooner was sent from San Blas to Manila by a new and more direct route, and in 1774, the *Buen Fin*, the first merchant frigate to sail from Manila to San Blas, arrived at that port and proceeded to Acapulco. On the occasion of the expulsion of the Jesuits, the Philippine merchants were required to pay for the schooner which brought the decree of expulsion to Manila. In 1779, in consequence of the American war, two shipments of 300,000 pesos in silver were despatched from San Blas to Manila for the purpose of strengthening the fortifications there against a British attack. (Notes of Dr. Tate).

²¹ In 1782, Acapulco formally ceased to be the exclusive depot. As early as 1774, permission had been given for the landing of Philippine goods in Peru. (Notes of Dr. Tate).

²² A plan was formed in 1782 for the building of ships in Manila to be used on the northwest coast of America. The ship, *Heroules*, having proceeded from Manila, via Canton, arrived at San Blas on May 10, 1785. Vega's plan to start a trade with China by exchanging furs for quicksilver was put forward in June of the same year, and at the end of 1787, Visadre definitely proposed a voyage from San Blas to Canton via Puget Sound and Manila. (Notes of Dr. Tate).

tion of the Caracas Company gave an opportunity to François Cabarrus, a Frenchman very influential at the Spanish Court, to extend the scope of Philippine trade into the Indian and Atlantic oceans and thus to bring the islands into contact with the mother country via the east as well as the west. He and his associates were instrumental in forming at Madrid a Royal Philippine Company which should trade with the islands direct, chiefly via the Cape of Good Hope.²³ The directors were to be drawn partly from the leading Spanish banks and partly from the former directors of the Caracas Company. The capital was to be eight million pesos, one million to be subscribed by the king. Ships might go out via Buenos Ayres and Cape Horn provided large amounts of specie were not taken from South America, but they must return via the Cape of Good Hope.²⁴ These restrictions were intended to allay the fears of those who had vested interests in the Acapulco galleon, but failed to do so, particularly as the new company was to be allowed to land eight hundred tons of oriental merchandise at Vera Cruz.²⁵ Under these arrangements, the Royal Philippine Company began life in March, 1785.

This new departure in Spanish trade policy immediately attracted the attention of the English East India Company, and it appears that there was a project of agreement between the two companies in 1788, five years before Woodford devoted his attention specifically to the subject.²⁶ The English attempted to profit by what they naturally regarded as a rift in the water-tight Spanish colonial system. The Spanish company, which, in 1787, was said to have made a profit of

²³ W. L. Schurz, "The Royal Philippine Company", *HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, III. 498. See also Hussey, *op. cit.*, pp. 296-298.

²⁴ Schurz, *ut supra*, III. 499 ff. Also Melville MSS., Woodford memorandum, 1792.

²⁵ Schurz, *loc. cit.*

²⁶ Melville MSS. Papers enclosed in Woodford's letters to Dundas. Earlier in the eighteenth century, there had been Spanish plans for trade between the Philippines and the East Indies which had come to nothing chiefly because of English and Dutch opposition. See Hussey, *op. cit.*, pp. 37, 50, 203-204.

fifty per cent,²⁷ would obviously need oriental goods and, if the British could get larger quantities of Indian goods into Manila, they might ultimately get them into Spanish America. Accordingly, the project of 1788 contemplated mutual freedom of navigation in India and the Philippines. Manila was to be a free port to such ships as the East India Company chose to license to go there; all ports in British India were to be open to Spanish vessels licensed by the Royal Philippine Company. The Philippine Company should have its agents in India, and the British might bring such European goods to Manila as the Spanish company wished. In conclusion, the two companies were to work out a schedule of reciprocal duties and a plan of adjudicating all commercial disputes in consular courts.²⁸

The schemes proposed by Sir Ralph Woodford in 1793 were of a similar but more ambitious nature. By that time, in spite of the fact that they had frightened the Manileños into suspending an occasional annual voyage of the Acapulco galleon,²⁹ the directors of the Philippine Company were in financial difficulties. They were in need of a government loan, and were troubled by the persistent refusal of the Manileños to coöperate with them.³⁰ Notwithstanding the offer of three thousand shares of stock and one-fifth of the cargo space in the Company's vessels, those interested in the Acapulco galleon held themselves aloof from all connection with the company and its efforts to develop the internal prosperity of the islands.³¹ In the papers which Woodford drew up for Grenville in the summer of 1792, there is a detailed exposition of the *carte du pays* as it then stood. According to these documents, Manila was a free port for Asiatic nations, but Europeans under their own flags (with the exception of the Portuguese at Macao) were excluded. The

²⁷ Schurz, *ut supra*, III. 504.

²⁸ Melville MSS. Papers enclosed in Woodford's letters to Dundas.

²⁹ Schurz, *ut supra*, III. 507.

³⁰ Melville MSS. Woodford's memorandum of August, 1792.

³¹ Schurz, *ut supra*, III. 506.

Philippine Company stood on the edge of ruin, and the annual Philippine deficit made up by the Spanish exchequer³² was never less than 500,000 piastres (Spanish dollars) and often rose to 1,500,000 piastres. The company had no credit with the substantial mercantile houses in the East Indies, but must deal with inferior houses. The bulk of the trade between the Philippines and the Chinese coast was in Portuguese hands. An agreement with the English East India Company would supply a remedy for this situation, enable the Philippines to develop their natural resources, sugar, cotton, silk, indigo, gold, pearls, and spices, and make Manila a "general depot" for the manufactures of India, Batavia, China, and Japan. The Philippine Company would have its choice of the best goods of British India, and the introduction of goods and manufactured articles from India would enable the Filipinos "to dispense with going to Canton for everything."³³ Rice could be much developed and sold in China, and Philippine cotton was said to be better than Surat cotton, of which the Chinese were already buying eighty-five thousand bales.³⁴ Both companies would therefore profit from the triangular trade which would thus be fostered between India, the Philippines and China, and the increased prosperity of the islands through the development of their natural resources would tend to reduce the governmental deficit. Incidentally, the Philippine Company would still further curtail the interests and influence of the Portuguese and Manileños. Behind all this, of course, lay a hope in the Englishman's mind that, if such an agreement were arrived at, a considerable quantity of British goods might trickle into Spanish America. Woodford was careful to stipulate that the British would have to agree to a scale of duties at Manila palatable to Spanish susceptibilities, and he realized that the re-export of British

³² *I.e.* in Mexico. The writers of these documents wrongly thought of these deficits as made up directly by the home government at Madrid.

³³ Melville MSS., Woodford's memorandum of August, 1792.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

goods to South America would be "strictly regulated".³⁵ Nevertheless, he wrote to Sir Francis Baring that one of the chief objects of the scheme was to introduce Indian manufactures into South America in exchange for the "pure bullion of Mexico" which would increase the Indian reserve of specie recently so much drained by the remittances sent to Europe by Anglo-Indian "nabobs".³⁶ In order to put the Spanish in a more complacent mood, they might be reminded that Russia, jealous of interference with the fur trade on the northwest coast of America, was extending its settlements in Kamchatka and its trade with China.³⁷

When Woodford began negotiations in earnest in the following summer, it is even more apparent that the ultimate goal was the South American trade. In June, 1793, Devaynes, as chairman of the East India Company, had referred him to Dundas, with whom he reopened the entire subject.³⁸ He had already conversed with a Spanish gentleman, who had been "once destined to form new regulations" in the Philippines for the amelioration of their commerce in order to prevent the islands from being a charge on the home budget.³⁹ This gentleman, insisting that his name should not be divulged, had written that he approved of a plan whereby a fair might be held at Manila during the season of the favorable monsoons. By this means, the English East India Company could exchange its wares for hard dollars and Philippine products. "In proportion", he wrote, as exports would increase at the Philippines, the produce of agriculture will become so interesting that the fertile lands which are now uncultivated would become of great value.⁴⁰

On the other hand, he did not dare broach the matter openly, as such a fair "might be very destructive or undermining

³⁵ *Ibid.* "South America" is thought of as including Mexico.

³⁶ Melville MSS., Woodford to Baring, August 27, 1792.

³⁷ Melville MSS., Woodford's memorandum of August, 1792.

³⁸ Melville MSS., Woodford to Dundas, June 27, 1793.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, "Note B" reply of an unnamed Spaniard.

to Spain.”⁴¹ Woodford reported these conversations to Dundas, and enclosed the scheme he had drawn up for Grenville together with several new features, among them a clause by which the Spaniards were to have factories in India if they allowed the British a factory at Manila.⁴² He now calculated that an agreement between the two companies would give the Spanish a sixty per cent profit and might enable them to wrest the Mediterranean trade in East Indian goods from the Tuscans and Genoese. In conclusion, he impressed Dundas with the necessity of keeping all negotiations secret from the Dutch, urged that the ecclesiastical bodies in Manila should be propitiated in order to facilitate trade with Spanish America, and even went so far as to intimate that possibly Dundas might suggest the cession of the whole island of Luzon to Britain in return for a captured French district in India, for example Chandernagore near Calcutta, which would suit the Philippine Company very well.⁴³

This last extraordinary proposal was probably the result of Woodford's association with one Charles Cockerell,⁴⁴ who accompanied him on his next visit to Dundas. This gentleman, formerly resident in India, had drawn up a very elaborate memorial advocating British annexation of the island of Luzon.⁴⁵ An Anglo-Indian, he approached the problem entirely from an Indian standpoint. An island off the China coast was very desirable, nay, essential, to the East India Company for the sake of the expanding China trade. Luzon was obviously the best island for the purpose. In brief, it was his hope that Luzon would play a rôle somewhat similar

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*, Woodford to Dundas, June 27, 1793.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Charles Cockerell, born February 18, 1755; cr. bart. September 25, 1809; m. 1st, at Calcutta, March 11, 1789, Mary Tryphena, dau. of Sir Charles William Blunt, bart., d. October 1789; m. 2nd, February 13, 1808, Harriet, sister of Lord Northwick, and had issue Charles Rushout Cockerell, b. June 19, 1809. Debrett, *Baronetage* (1815), II. 1250.

⁴⁵ Melville MSS., Memorandum marked "Note C" enclosed in Woodford's letters to Dundas.

to that which Hong Kong was to play a half-century later. At Luzon, the English merchant would no longer be at the mandarins' mercy. He would be free of the Canton monopolists; he might possibly gain control of the spice trade, and he could certainly bring back the days when large fleets of junks annually came to Manila from Nankeen and Amoy. It was absurd that Manila should remain the depot for a trifling amount of oriental trade with New and Old Spain, and that only six or seven junks a year should enter its harbor.⁴⁶

Cockerell provided Woodford with a detailed description of the resources of Luzon and the high prices at which Philippine grain, cotton, and sugar could be sold in China.⁴⁷ It was his opinion that the Spaniards could be persuaded that they could get just as much if not more out of the island if it was British. It should not matter to the commercially-minded directors of the Philippine Company that the island was British, if their company prospered and they gained a foothold in India. Moreover, the Spanish government would

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* Philippine cotton, worth in China 16-20 piastres per picul, price at Manila 8-10 piastres per picul; sugar, worth in China 6-8 piastres per picul, price at Manila 3-4 piastres per picul. List of products of the Philippines and places to which they could be exported:

Cotton, China

Sugar, China and Bombay and Isle of France

Indigo, China and Bombay and Europe

Silk, China and coast of India

Ebony, China

Timber, China and Bombay and Isle of France

Stags sinews

Birds nests

Hydes

Beetle Nut, China

Tortoise shells

Mother of Pearl

Rice, China and Malacca

Incense, China

Oil of Cacao, China and Isle of France

Wax, China and Mexico

Oker, China

be relieved of a Philippine deficit and of the necessity of attempting to stop the smuggling of India goods into its dominions. In conclusion he wrote:

Let the Channel to Acapulco and Peru for the sale of India piece goods at moderate prices be once fairly open, and the demand for them must be universal over the American continent.⁴⁸

Hence it is again apparent that this is to be the means by which the British are to pry open the doors of South America, and it is of more than passing interest that Cockerell also wrote that the Philippines might be of great value in the future "at a time when the natives of India may attempt to emancipate themselves from British control and authority."⁴⁹

Dundas and Devaynes naturally regarded Cockerell's schemes as chimerical. Nowhere in the letters which follow is there the least hint that the annexation of Luzon, except by conquest, is at all practicable. Of the possibility of concluding a commercial agreement between the two companies, they were not so skeptical, and Devaynes in particular appears to have embraced the proposals with considerable enthusiasm.⁵⁰ He was even in favor of allowing individuals to participate in the Philippine trade under license from the East India Company.⁵¹ Dundas, though not openly hostile

Sulpher, China
 The Guinoras, Isle of France
 Pearls, China and India
 Gold, China and India
 Coaries, India
 Pepper, China and Europe
 Cinnamon, Europe
 Ambergris, Europe
 Coir Rope, China and India
 Rattans, China and Europe

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Cockerell to Woodford, June 27, 1793.

⁵⁰ Melville MSS., Devaynes to Woodford, August 14, 1793, "I am very clear that any commercial arrangement that can take place between the Philippines and India must turn out to our advantage. . . . I am clearly of opinion that anything they can ask of us will not overbalance our advantages by the intercourse."

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Devaynes to Dundas, September 2, 1793.

to Woodford's plans, was much less sanguine that anything could be done, and later wrote to Lord Cornwallis that all the Philippine schemes "embraced a great deal too much".⁵² Nevertheless, he allowed Woodford to continue his negotiations during the summer of 1793 and the earlier part of 1794. Woodford reported much progress. He insisted that the presence of Lord Macartney's embassy in China and the renewal of the East India Company's charter made the time a most propitious one for the business.⁵³ He drew up detailed lists of the products that might be exchanged on both sides.⁵⁴ Through Las Heras, he had succeeded by 1794 in gaining the assurance that the Spanish minister of commerce and finance "treated the project with all possible care and warmth, but must discuss it with the foreign minister".⁵⁵ Meanwhile, the Spanish explorer, Malespina, recently returned from the Pacific, had assured the home government that a considerable body of Philippine opinion favored the plan.⁵⁶ According to Lord Bute, the British ambassador at Madrid, the Spanish, in the summer of 1794, were fully ready to conclude an agreement with the East India Company⁵⁷ when the changed situation in Europe caused the vacillating Spanish government to draw away from the English alliance and prepare to enter the war on the French side, chiefly because of distrust of British naval policy in the Mediterranean.⁵⁸ Thus ended all hope of bringing Sir Ralph Woodford's schemes into the realm of practical politics, and he continued to plead with Dundas and the East India Company for some monetary compensation for his efforts until 1798.⁵⁹ The Philippine

⁵² *Ibid.*, Dundas to Cornwallis, March 22, [1795 or 1796].

⁵³ *Ibid.*, Woodford to Dundas, September 20, 1793.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Woodford to Dundas, September 29, 1793.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Woodford to Dundas, June 30, 1794.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Translation of a document, apparently supplied by Las Heras to Woodford.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Woodford to Dundas, August 14, 1798.

⁵⁸ See J. H. Rose, *William Pitt and the Great War*, pp. 197, 230-237.

⁵⁹ Melville MSS., Woodford to Dundas, July 26, 1797, and others.

Company itself somewhat recovered from its troubles during the Napoleonic era, and continued in existence until 1834,⁶⁰ long after the uprising in Mexico had sounded the death knell of the economic system bound up with the Manila-Acapulco galleon.

In spite of the fact that these schemes to bring about Anglo-Spanish commercial union in the east came to nothing, they do not deserve to be forgotten. They well reveal the desire of the British to take the utmost advantage of what might be called a "commercial revolution" in the Pacific in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Having tried for more than a century and a half with a far from satisfactory degree of success to enter Spanish America from the Atlantic, the British then saw an opportunity to enter it by the back door in the Pacific. That ocean had ceased to be a Spanish lake adjacent to Spanish America. The British could not allow the Russians or Americans to get ahead of them in the fur trade to China, nor in any other of the vast possibilities opening before their eyes as a result of the changes made by the Philippine Company in the Spanish colonial system, and of the obvious weakening of Spain's hold on Spanish America. An agreement with the Philippine Company would link India with the Philippines, help drive the Russians out of the North Pacific, give England more benefits in the China trade, and indirectly some share in the Spanish American trade. Such an agreement would not be enough, however. It is quite clear that when the proper opportunity came, the British were anxious to annex Luzon, and conquer as large a part of Spanish America as they could, commercially in any case, and, possibly, territorially and politically as well. Their ambitions at this time looked toward commercial supremacy throughout the world. No doubt, the proposed commercial agreements with Ireland, France, Spain, Holland, and Naples⁶¹ were intended

⁶⁰ Schurz, *ut supra*, III. 505.

⁶¹ Woodford had negotiated a commercial treaty with Naples which was awaiting ratification when Grenville dismissed him from office in February, 1793. These negotiations are contained in F. O. 72/29-32.

to usher in an era of peace and contentment. Yet, even when they were being negotiated, the British officials concerned made no secret in their private correspondence of the desirability of annexing as many as possible of their rivals' colonies in the next war.⁶² In the case of Spain, it was merely Britain's misfortune that, when war came, there were so many European complications that it was never possible for it to attack Spanish America with all its might. Nevertheless, in the later 1790's, Dundas and others interested in the east dreamed not only of conquering the Philippines, but of sending troops from India across the Pacific to Spanish America.⁶³ To many minds, South America was the great prize of the future. Beside it everything else paled into insignificance. As soon as the British had lost their privileged position in North America, what was more natural than that they should covet the trade of Spanish America, or that, at the time of the Nootka dispute, they should negotiate with discontented Spanish Americans? Their boundless commercial ambitions at this period are very well expressed in the concluding paragraph of Charles Cockerell's memorial on the annexation of Luzon, which reads as follows:

An able Minister, an acute Politician, or enterprising Individual extends his Connexions, enlarges his Acquaintance in Society & cultivates his Intercourse with Mankind to the utmost of his power, confident of his own Superiority and the consequent Success which such a System must thereby attach to it. A Commercial Nation, arrived at that extraordinary pre-eminence which the English can boast, may perhaps do well to pursue a similar Conduct & to extend its commercial

⁶² For the negotiations with Holland, and the plans for annexing Dutch colonies, see the writer's *Henry Dundas*, pp. 103-104.

⁶³ These ideas appear more than once in the Melville MSS. examined by the writer. Cf. Melville MSS. at Eskbank, Midlothian, précis of Dundas-Mornington correspondence 1798-1801; also Hist. MSS. Comm., *Dropmore Papers*, IV. 433-435, letter of Dundas to Pitt, March, 1798 [?]. Manila was one of the objectives of an expedition which was turned back at Penang with the future Duke of Wellington on board in 1797. See *The Private Record of an Indian Governor-Generalship 1798-1798*, ed. by the writer, pp. 19, 126, 127, 130; also *Correspondence of Charles, First Marquess Cornwallis*, ed. C. Ross, II. 331.

Connexions and Intercourse to every part of the World within its reach, under the firm conviction that the same enterprising and persevering Spirit which brought it to that Pinnacle of Excellence will secure the continuance of that Superiority, with its consequent Advantages, over all other nations, to the total exclusion of every fear or Apprehension of Rivalship.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Melville MSS., Cockerell's memorial of June, 1793. Cf. Admiral Sir Home Popham's letter to Sir John Sinclair, written at the time of the Buenos Ayres expedition, July 14, 1806, "Now is the time for England to exert itself if it wants South America, which is worth all your West India islands and half India into the bargain", Sinclair, *Correspondence*, I. 196.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Documents illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America.

Edited by ELIZABETH DONNAN. Vol. IV. *The Border Colonies and the Southern Colonies*. (Washington: The Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1935. Pp. xv, 719. Paper, \$6.00; cloth, \$7.00.)

In this, the fourth and final volume of the series, the editor presents documents illustrative of the slave trade to and within five of the southern colonies, notwithstanding the sub-title "The Border Colonies and the Southern Colonies". Of the colonies treated (Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana), South Carolina occupies a little more than half of the total space. This disparity in favor of South Carolina was determined by availability of material and the importance of Charleston in the eighteenth-century traffic. The volume contains no documents relating to Florida and North Carolina.

Greatly varied in nature and length, the 445 documents of this volume begin in 1628 and end with the non-importation act of 1807. The prolific period is the eighteenth century. There is a brief introduction to each of the sub-divisions, "The Border Colonies" and "The Southern Colonies". The editorial work continues the high standard of the earlier volumes and the index is useful, though it begins on page 673 and not as stated in the table of contents.

With the appearance of the final volume an estimate of the whole project may be *à propos*. The 1295 documents of the four volumes extend over the period from 1441 to 1807 and fill a total of approximately 2,500 pages. As indicated in previous issues of this REVIEW (XII. no. 3, and XIII. no. 3), they illustrate many phases of the slave trade. At the same time they make no pretense at exhaustiveness. To the student who wishes to make a careful study of any phase of the trade they are a guide rather than a storehouse of information. In the general phases of the subject, the documents emphasize the British trade to the West Indies; in the colonial aspect of the subject, the emphasis rests on Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and South Carolina. The basis of selection was apparently material available to the editor.

The volumes set a high standard of editing throughout. Good in-

dexes and introductions to the various subdivisions add to the usefulness of the work. Many thanks are due the editor and the publisher of this fine work.

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Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States, Inter-American Affairs, 1831-1860. Vol. V., *Chile and Colombia.* Selected and arranged by WILLIAM R. MANNING. (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1935. Pp. XL, 1015. \$5.00.)

The Chilean part of this correspondence is disappointing. It occupies only a scant third of the volume, and upon a number of important subjects it is entirely silent. The first of the agents to Chile in this period, John Hamm of Ohio, was appointed in May, 1830. He did not arrive at his post, it appears, until the middle of 1832, and in October of the following year he returned to the United States. Only two of his letters, both very brief, are included. In one of them, written in October, 1832, he informed his government that the next Chilean congress was expected to convene in the following June. That, apparently, was the sum and substance of his knowledge of the political events then taking place in Chile. The state department was afterward left in ignorance of a number of matters of still greater interest to the United States. While the war with Mexico was in progress, while Juan José Flores was plotting an invasion of South America with Spanish and British support, while the inter-American Congress of 1847 was being discussed and carried into effect at Lima, while the California gold rush with its extraordinary influence on Chilean life was at its height, and while William Walker's filibustering in Nicaragua was rousing the southern republics to measures of defense, the government at Washington received little or nothing from its representatives regarding the Chilean reaction to these important matters. This was due no doubt to the fitting character of the missions. Too many of the agents were, like Hamm, slow to arrive and quick to return. In the circumstances they could hardly be expected to reflect adequately the opinion of the country to which they were accredited.

Yet, the Chilean correspondence, in spots, is not without interest. Richard Pollard of Virginia remained at his post from 1835 to 1842, during which time he carried on a spirited discussion with the Chilean government respecting the most-favored-nation principle. He also

wrote frequently and informingly to the department of state regarding the conflict between Chile and the Peru-Bolivian confederation and about other matters of interest. At the close of the period, from 1857 to 1860, John Bigler, ex-governor of California, was on the scene, and his correspondence about the *Sportsman* case and other subjects, helps to enliven the pages of this part of the volume. There are to be found also a number of important communications from the Chilean secretaries of state on divers matters in dispute between the two countries.

The Colombian part of the correspondence is more satisfactory, not merely because it is more abundant and more continuous, but because it is more informative regarding matters of continental or general interest. In a large measure it makes good the deficiencies of the Chilean part. For example, it throws a flood of light on the international situation during and immediately after the Mexican War. It shows that Colombia and the other republics of South America were at the moment less concerned about the aggression of the United States on Mexico than they were about European aggression, real or threatened, on themselves. England's encroachments on the Mosquito Shore, which particularly concerned Colombia, and the threat of the Flores expedition outweighed considerably the dangers that were feared from the Colossus of the North. Colombia, indeed, was so moved by the European danger that it chose what it regarded as the lesser of two evils and sought an alliance with the United States. That is the explanation of the treaty of 1846 with its famous article thirty-five. Such also, in great part, is the explanation of the little understood congress at Lima in 1847. Though the correspondence does not tell the whole story, it contributes greatly to the understanding of these and other important inter-American questions. Combined with the two volumes on Central America it provides, moreover, an unsurpassed body of material for the study of the great contest waged in the middle decades of last century between the United States and Great Britain for domination over the routes of inter-oceanic communication.

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Peace by Revolution: An Interpretation of Mexico. By FRANK TANNENBAUM. Drawings by MIGUEL COVARRUBIAS. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1933. Pp. xii, 315. \$3.50.)

Whoever reads this volume with even moderate understanding will be wiser about Mexico than he was before. Not all books upon that country have this effect. Since mechanized transport has channeled tourist routes through backward lands, leaving the great remainder of their area as it has been for centuries, facile writers have bombarded us with snap shots and snap judgments about them that have largely extended the boundaries of human error. Doctor Tannenbaum has not sinned in this direction. He has smoked pouches of tobacco over questions that some authors would dispose of with a whiff of a cigarette.

Mexico is the unfinished product of an evolution which began before Columbus and Cortes. Its development has been coerced by alien rule and culture which it never fully assimilated. It has been interpreted and judged by alien standards. The present work tries to get away from the latter attitude and to trace the deeper forces which, after persisting for centuries beneath the surface of society, have now manifested themselves in revolution.

Several years ago, Frederick Starr published a book called *Indian Mexico*. It was a picturesque description of people in out-of-the-way parts of the country and gave many Americans their first hint that all Mexicans were not like either Porfirio Díaz or Río Grande cowboys. That was some service. But its author never suggested that this major fraction of the population was its prepotent element and might eventually impose its features upon the whole nation.

Now Doctor Tannenbaum, with recent history to enlighten him, has interpreted Mexico in terms which make this Indian element not a rear-stage decoration but a leading part of the caste. He describes the Indian's slow absorption of the Spaniard, the racial tensions which retarded progress, the subterranean struggle between exotic and native forces in the Church, and the persistence of the tactics of conquest in government, in the land system, and in the treatment of labor. He shows how resistance to the imported—even though long established—institutions that incorporated the traditions and practices of the conquest slowly strengthened. At length the retreat of the Indian ended. With Zapata and Villa and the ideologists of the post-Madero revolu-

tion he took the offensive. He began to recover his land and to restore his communal society. This started the battle between the village and the hacienda which is still in progress. He tried by means of labor unions and advanced social legislation to wrest control of industry from the foreigners who monopolized it. Here also he has partially succeeded. Most important of all in longer perspective, he has narrowed the ancient rift between the conquering and the conquered race until he has awakened in all classes a new consciousness of national community. This manifests itself among other things in intellectual and art movements and above all in an educational program which dispenses to the utmost with exotic influences, tries to reach all the people, and aims to enrich the formal national culture with indigenous elements.

Only the thesis and not the incidents of such a book can be summarized in a review. Indeed, for the sake of stressing what he believes are fundamentals, the author dismisses with scant attention the pageantry and personalities of the tumultuous and dramatic quarter of a century since Madero succeeded Díaz. He sees a historical necessity rather than a series of historical accidents in Mexico's violent transformations. But he does not float over the country in a cloud of theory. He has seen the land from the saddle and the foot trail and cites places and persons for his facts. In the chapters on country schools he uses native records to paint an appealing picture of a people painfully groping from age-old shadows toward the light.

No book known to the reviewer seems to get as near to the heart of the Mexican problem as this one. It may idealize the Indian, but why not give him the benefit of the doubt? Miguel Covarrubias's illustrations are not snap shots but an expression of the people themselves. It is cause for congratulation that such a work has been written and has been written by an American.

VICTOR S. CLARK.

Washington, D. C.

The Background of the Revolution for Mexican Independence. By LILLIAN ESTELLE FISHER. (Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1934. Pp. 512; Index and Bibliography. \$4.00.)

Slowly but steadily monographic treatments of the outstanding phases of the history of the Hispanic American nations are being published in English. The present work is one of these. Dr. Fisher has

gone back to the sources in Spain and has used material of unquestioned value that had been unused for such a study in English. This, in itself, is a worth-while contribution, though it must be confessed that there is little particularly startling or new in the conclusions reached or the type of treatment provided.

Throughout the study, the framework is a little too obvious for the pleasantest type of reading; each chapter rather painfully amasses a series of facts which are methodically recorded. At the end of several of the chapters appear a few paragraphs of summary material that are excellently done and which cause the reader to wish that the author had allowed herself more opportunity for such spontaneous writing.

A critical analysis of the volume reveals some weaknesses of organization and poor editing. For instance, the material on pp. 38-42 needs some kind of rearrangement or tabulation; while the same may be said of the maze of figures on pp. 126-127 and on p. 189. Also, the separation of material dealing with mineral production (p. 138 and p. 143), and with coinage (p. 139 and p. 186) is trying on the reader. Likewise, if the two chapters devoted to the political administration had been reduced to half their length by the elimination of occasional repetition and the long surveys of generally well-known political events, and the whole reduced to a crisp summary of political weaknesses, the work would have been materially strengthened.

All in all, here is a worth-while study based on authoritative sources and one which should be carefully considered by students of the revolutionary period, but nevertheless one which leaves the reader with the feeling that the author has not done herself full justice. The reader appreciates the presentation of facts but then feels that at least a final chapter of interpretative writing would have been decidedly in order by one who has done this amount of work. As it is the final chapter is a summary of what has gone before, and then—just quits.

W. H. CALLCOTT.

University of South Carolina.

Acuerdos del Extinguido Cabildo de Buenos Aires. Published under the direction of the director of the Archivo General de la Nación, HECTOR C. QUESADA. [Series IV, Tomo IX, Libros LXXXIII a LXXXVIII, Años: 1820 y 1821.] (Buenos Aires: G. Craft Ltd., 1934. Pp. 694).

In 1934, was brought to a successful conclusion the most ambitious project ever undertaken by the National Archives of Argentina. From time to time, allusions have been made in THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW to the editing and publication of the so-called "acuerdos" or minutes of the former cabildo of Buenos Aires. This enormous mass of documentary material, embracing the entire history of the cabildo from its foundation in 1589 to its extinction by Rivadavia in 1821, constitutes one of the most important sources for the colonial history of Buenos Aires and sheds much light on the confused events of the first decade of independence. The chief motive for the beginning in 1907 of this laborious task of publication was the frank recognition by the then director of the Archives, Sr. José Juan Biedma, and his associates that unless efforts were made to place the acuerdos in permanent form they were in grave danger of being lost to posterity. This eminent scholar and archivist persuaded the communal authorities of the capital to turn over these records to the national archives and "en el deseo patriótico de salvar esos libros de una destrucción segura e irremediable" obtained from the national government authorization to have them published.

The undertaking was a formidable one. The paleographical difficulties involved, particularly in deciphering the manuscripts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were great. The magnitude of the undertaking may be realized from the fact that the completed work consists of four series, with a total of 46 quarto volumes, averaging 700 pages. The writer of this review chanced to visit the archives while the work was in progress and may vouch for the thoroughness and accuracy with which the task was performed. The responsibility for carrying out this vast project rested with the able directors of the archives, Señores José Juan Biedma, Augusto S. Mallié, Hector C. Quesada, and the vice-director of the archives, Sr. Eugenio Corbet-France. No effort has been spared to make the work authoritative, and useful to the investigator. It is printed on excellent paper and is extremely legible. The text of the acuerdos with their marginal refer-

ences are reproduced with scrupulous care. Each of the forty-six volumes contains an elaborate alphabetical index, not only of proper names, but of institutions, events, and the like, with abundant cross references. From every point of view this collection reflects great credit on the staff of the national archives. It constitutes a vast repository of valuable source material which no student of Argentine history can afford to ignore.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

Stanford University.

Nederlandsche Zeevaarders op de eilanden in de Caraïbische Zee en aan de kust van Columbia en Venezuela, gedurende de Jaren 1621-1648(9). Documenten hoofzakelijk uit het Archivo General de Indias. Deel I. 1621-1641. (Werken uitgegeven door het Historisch Genootschap, 3d Ser., No. 63.) Edited by IRENE A. WRIGHT. Translated by Professor Doctor C. F. A. VAN DAM. (Utrecht: Kemink en Zoon, N. V., 1934. Pp. 256, 434. Front. 9 plates.)

"The documents of this collection relate to the history of the Dutch in America, in the islands of the Caribbean and on the adjacent coasts of Colombia and Venezuela, from the end of the truce (1621) to the Peace of Munster (1648)", begins the introduction of this book. In the first volume, they cover to 1641, and number sixty-seven documents in all. These are drawn from the Archives of the Indies, and are supplemented by nine plates. The latter include five maps and three plans of forts from the Archives of the Indies, and a reproduction of a painting from the Prado. None of the archival items, so far as the reviewer knows, have been reproduced before. The documents are given in Spanish, and in Dutch translation. The introduction and notes, also by Miss Wright, with minor additions by Dr. Van Dam, appear only in Dutch.

The editing is meticulous, but a few questionable points occur, very probably due to divided editorial responsibility. Spanish readers cannot object because the valuable notes and introduction are in Dutch only. The translation is good, in cases where one can test it. But no sound reason appears for giving section and document titles of the Spanish portion in Dutch. Also, though there is a table of contents, there is no index or bibliography, and no archival locations are given

for the frontispiece or for plate II.¹ There are three real slips. In the introduction (pp. 6-7, n. 1) Acosta's "*Adiciones á la historia . . . por . . . Abbad y Lasierra*" is cited from Fernández Duro, with a note that the work cannot be found. It does not exist. It is simply Fernández Duro's unfortunate way of indicating Acosta's augmented edition (Puerto Rico, 1866) of Abbad y Lasierra's *Historia* (Madrid, 1788). The map of plate VIII, dated in the book as "1634-1635", is dated December 4, 1634, on its label. (That label is translated, correctly, in the Dutch section, but appears in Spanish only on the map itself.) Finally, the map of plate I, dated "1622 (?)" in the book, is certainly much earlier than that, to judge by costumes and other details, and its lower left hand corner apparently dates it as 1591. (Rather, did so date it. That corner was missing when this reviewer obtained a photostat.)

Any further criticism involves content only, and, especially as to collections of documents, such criticism is commonly more revelatory of the reviewer's bias than of the reviewee's faults. It is certainly pertinent, however, to point out that this collection omits any important record of the deliberations of Spanish governmental councils, though those records exist and explain much about Spanish reaction to Dutch attacks. The description of San Martín, about 1633, by Alonso García and Antonio Albarez must have been knowingly excluded, for it is mentioned in a note (p. 282). Nevertheless, it seems an essential document to the reviewer, since the map of plate VII cannot be understood without it. The introduction or notes could profitably have prepared the reader for events after 1621 by giving more than brief notes (pp. 7, 11), from a printed account, on the Dutch ships that swarmed to the Araya salt pans between 1598 and 1609, and by mentioning the Dutch exploits near Trinidad about 1613. Also, though Diego de Larrasa's official account of Hendrikszoon's action at Puerto Rico has been printed,² it might have been utilized in the notes. Finally, one wishes that Dr. Van Dam had added notes giving something of the Dutch side.³

¹ The frontispiece comes, in fact, from: Indiferente General 2569 (Old number: 152-4-13).

² Tapia y Rivera, *Biblioteca Histórica de Puerto Rico* (Puerto Rico, 1854), pp. 416-433; reprinted in F. J. Geigel Sabat, *Balduino Enríco* (Barcelona, 1934).

³ It can, however, be traced in easily available books, such as: C. P. Amelunxen, *De geschiedenis van Curaçao* ('s-Grav., 1929); H. T. Colenbrander, *Kolonial*

But most of this amounts to saying that two people judge importances a little differently. Also, perhaps, that it is easier to think of omissions than to include everything in a book of a given length. Miss Wright, ably aided by Dr. Van Dam, has once more put every student of Spanish American history in her debt. She has stated a purpose clearly, and fulfilled it with an accurate, well planned, and humanly complete study of an important and previously neglected field. Every worker in the Spanish American group will wish that he had more confrères like Miss Wright, and that other European historians recognized, as the Dutch do, the value of Spanish archives.

ROLAND DENNIS HUSSEY.

University of California
at Los Angeles.

The Caribbean Area. Edited by A. CURTIS WILGUS. Volume II in "Studies in Hispanic American Affairs". (Washington, D. C.: The George Washington University Press, 1934. Pp. 604. \$3.00.)

Argentina, Brazil and Chile since Independence. Edited by A. CURTIS WILGUS. (Volume III in "Studies in Hispanic American Affairs". (Washington, D. C.: The George Washington University Press, 1935. Pp. 481. \$3.00.)

These two volumes show a marked advance over the initial publication in this series (cf. this REVIEW, XV. 88-90) in general editorial conception, in detailed approach to problems, and in a more uniform style of presentation, as printed lectures worked over from the more informal manner of the classroom. They should prove to be useful to the general reader whose interest in Hispanic American affairs has been cooled by the inevitable austerity of textbooks, and they should also be welcomed by those who offer courses in the subject and confront the difficulty of insufficient materials in English for collateral reading.

The first volume, while in no sense a history of the Caribbean Area, nor yet a comprehensive survey of the current problems of the region, manages to bring into focus a goodly number of the critical questions that have vexed and are troubling the countries from Cuba to Ven-

Geschiedenis (3 vol.; 's-Grav., 1925); J. H. J. Hamelberg, *De Nederlanders op de West-Indische Eilanden* (2 vols.; Amsterdam, 1901-1903); S. P. L'H. Naber and I. A. Wright, *Piet Heyn en de silverbloot* (Utrecht, 1928).

ezuela and from that country by land to the borders of the United States. The view is as of the summer of 1933 and many momentous changes which have occurred since then negative some of the conclusions, but, in many cases, others can stand with only a slight shift of meaning. Recent political changes in Cuba and Santo Domingo and the great reversal of United States policy dating from the Montevideo Conference, are cases in point.

The collection of lectures is introduced by a brief sketch of the area in colonial times by the editor and some general considerations concerning its significance by Samuel G. Inman. There follow twenty-seven studies, listed as chapters, followed by four appendices. The following scholars drawn from various universities, government posts, or positions offering the opportunity of special information, lend authority to the interpretations offered through the reputations they have won in their respective fields: Samuel G. Inman, Clarence F. Jones, Leland H. Jenks, Herminio Portell Vilá, George H. Cox, Roscoe R. Hill, W. H. Callcott, J. Fred Rippy, W. W. Pierson, Jr., Chester Lloyd Jones, E. Gil Borges, C. L. G. Anderson, James A. Robertson, and W. E. Dunn. The topics treated range from general discussions of political, social, and economic conditions to more specialized treatment of individual nations and definite problems within countries. The view of a Cuban concerning the situation of his native land, presented by Dr. Herminio Portell Vilá, and the attempted foretelling of the future prospects of the Caribbean indulged in by Professor Chester Lloyd Jones stand out as interesting examples of the character of the papers.

The second volume is a welcome addition to the scanty materials in English for the history of the important A. B. C. powers. Preceded by a sketch of the colonial antecedents of these nations by the editor, and a discussion of the political heritage of Spanish America by Professor N. Andrew N. Cleven, Professor J. F. Rippy devotes ten lectures to the history of Argentina, Professor Percy Alvin Martin, eleven to the history of Brazil from the period of Independence, and Professor Isaac J. Cox, ten to the history of Chile including the war for independence. Three appendices by Stetson Conn, Col. Alfred Hasbrouck, and Raúl d'Eça, discuss Rosas, British activities in Argentina, and the boundary settlements of Brazil. While in no sense substitutes for full length histories of these countries, which are badly needed in English, and such as we are awaiting with considerable interest for

Argentina from the pen of Professor Clarence H. Haring, nevertheless, these interpretations are stimulating and useful. One might easily quarrel with many of the views or with the weight given certain authorities rather than others, but the limited space available and the occasion call for praise rather than what, in the circumstances, would be carping criticism. Trace of the materials used, in citations and footnotes, add greatly to the value of the lectures.

Both volumes are equipped with serviceable indices, and only minor typographical errors are noted.

ARTHUR S. AITON.

The University of Michigan.

The Diplomacy of the American Revolution. By SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS, Farnam Professor of Diplomatic History, Yale University. [Vol. I. "The Foundations of American Diplomacy, 1775-1823".] (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., Inc., 1935. Pp. 293. \$3.50.)

This comprehensive yet concise narrative is an account of the relations in which the bases of the foreign policy of the United States were laid down, and of the remarkable achievement by which the acknowledgment of our independence was obtained. Policies, developments, and persons are portrayed in vivid characterizations fitting neatly into the whole.

In this first balanced account of the subject, one of the most interesting accomplishments of the author is that of explaining authoritatively the intimate interest of Spain and the importance of its American possessions in the diplomatic maneuvers. In addition to showing himself thoroughly acquainted with Spanish archives and materials, through research for this and earlier works, he has given due recognition to notable Spanish monographs, especially those of Yela Utrilla and Urtasún. The vital significance to France of the Spanish alliance, Spain's disdain for the cause of the United States owing chiefly to its own embarrassments as an American colonial power, and the complex boundary dealings, in which its minister, Aranda, figured, are clearly viewed. Students of the later developments in the Floridas and Louisiana will find this exposition of the foundations of those controversies valuable.

The treaty of Aranjuez brought an important ally to France and indirectly to the United States. But the enthusiasm with which Spain participated is shown in its efforts to make peace with England, at the

price of Gibraltar, before the independence of the United States was established. The student of Spanish American history may well feel that the significance of Bernardo de Gálvez's conquests on the Gulf Coast and Lower Mississippi is underestimated. But to speculate upon the consequences of a hypothetical British seizure of those regions does not offset the facts that Spain pursued no altruistic rôle and that its direct assistance was slight indeed. The weakness of the Spanish diplomatic position is evident in the recession from Spain's maximum claims that it was forced to make in the peace settlement.

Of the five excellent maps (drawn on photographs of the contemporary Mitchell map) three deal directly with Spanish holdings and negotiations. Here, and in the text, the results of the author's special cartographical studies of the boundary dealings are visible. The book is profusely, but unobtrusively, annotated with bibliographical material.

PHILIP C. BROOKS.

Washington, D. C.

Antonio José de Irisarri, Escritor y Diplomático. By RICARDO DONOSO. (Santiago: Prensas de la Universidad de Chile, 1934. Pp. 319.)

The subject of this biography might well furnish the inspiration for a novel of the size and character of Hervey Allen's *Anthony Adverse* with the title of *The Wandering Christian*, a designation that Irisarri was pleased to apply to himself parodying the name of the well-known tale of Eugene Sue. This little volume contains the story of an adventurer whose destinies made him an influential person at varying moments in Europe, South, Central, and North America; his eighty odd years of life spanned a stormy period of kaleidoscopic changes, including the last days of the colonial era through the wars of independence and the later civil conflicts following the separation from Spain. In the latter, particularly, he played a conspicuous and picturesque part, changing his allegiance both to political leaders and countries with bewildering frequency. His fiery nature and facile pen were invaluable aids to a succession of political aspirants in the newly-formed governments whose rise and fall he shared.

Born in Guatemala he traveled in Mexico in his youth and then came to Chile where he married into a well-to-do family. As the separatist movement developed he threw in his lot with the country of his adoption. O'Higgins soon sent him to London as a minister

plenipotentiary to seek recognition of Chilean independence on a monarchical basis if necessary. But Irisarri made little headway with the cautious English ministry, though he finally negotiated a private loan to Chile under circumstances that placed his probity under suspicion. Soon thereafter he was living with lavish splendor in Paris. When his successor, Don Mariano Egaña, reached London, Irisarri refused to coöperate and abruptly severed his connection with the Chilean service, leaving his accounts in a questionable state. He then established a brokerage office in the English capital but his ill-advised manipulations soon precipitated him into bankruptcy. Cleverly eluding the efforts of his creditors to prosecute him, he departed for Guatemala via New York and threw himself into the political anarchy of his native land with all the fervor of his impetuous and often unscrupulous temperament. As a writer in the innumerable periodicals that he founded and as an officer he aided the federalist party in Guatemala but was imprisoned with its other leaders when the fortunes of war turned against them. Escaping to a ship, he finally returned to his family in Chile in 1830. As the scandal attending the Chilean loan was not forgotten, Irisarri found it expedient to make a trip to Bolivia to investigate some property holdings of his wife. Upon his return he seems to have restored himself in the good graces of the Chilean government for, after an idyllic period as a sort of feudal lord at Comalle, he was chosen in 1837 to represent Chile in making peace with the Peruvian-Bolivian Confederation. Once again he betrayed his trust, signing a treaty that he knew was unacceptable to his adopted country; without daring to return, he cast in his lot with Chile's enemies headed by the ambitious Santa Cruz. Thus he left Chile for good, though he made earnest efforts to return toward the close of his life.

With the fall of the political fortunes of Santa Cruz, Irisarri drifted on to Ecuador, playing a conspicuous part in its troubled history, and then on to New Granada or Colombia where he also participated in local politics and added laurels to his growing literary fame. Though now sixty years of age and exceedingly active as a writer and politician, he found time and energy to dally with a fair maid at Cartagena de Indias. Adverse fortune obliged him to move on to Caracas and later to take refuge in Curaçao from which he hurled forth incendiary political pamphlets printed on his own press.

All these years he had been engaging in fierce polemics giving rise to an almost uninterrupted stream of pamphlets in which his keen

satire and extraordinary command of correct and stinging Spanish were plainly evident. He was ever at his best when pouring a virulent torrent of words and epithets on some hapless enemy or political opponent and was, undoubtedly, the best pamphleteer that Spanish America produced in the nineteenth century. His printing-press and writing activities were finally transferred to New York where for a while he published a paper in Spanish. As old age crept on, politics began to yield slightly to an avid study of Spanish classics; he produced some competent philological treatises and even undertook to prepare a Spanish edition of Ticknor's famous History of Spanish Literature. But his political and diplomatic career was not ended; he represented Guatemala and San Salvador in the United States and even interceded in behalf of Nicaragua in the Mosquito coast dispute, signing the Cass-Irisarri Treaty giving the United States canal rights in that Central American republic. He survived the American Civil War, meanwhile waging a bitter fight to clear his name and make his return to Chile possible. The lawsuit involved was not settled and he died in Brooklyn in 1866.

Sr. Donoso writes in a lucid, flowing style which renders reading easy. He disclaims any intention to write an "academic" biography, yet the high quality of his other works inspires confidence in this latest product of his pen. Scholars will miss, however, the careful documentation of his earlier biographies, though a good bibliography compensates in part. It is regrettable that Sr. Donoso did not indicate the location of the letters and documents pertaining to Irisarri which he quotes frequently and sometimes reproduces *in toto*. The absence of an index will be felt by scholars and students, since the usefulness of an interesting and valuable biography is thereby slightly impaired.

IRVING A. LEONARD.

University of California,
Berkeley.

Homenaje a Enrique José Varona en el Cincuentenario de su primer Curso de Filosofía (1880-1930). By JOSÉ M. CHACÓN Y CALVO; and OTHERS. [Publicaciones de la Secretaría de Educación. Dirección de Cultura.] (Havana: 1935.)

Dr. José María Chacón y Calvo indicates in the preface of this interesting publication of the ministry of education of Cuba, that in

1927 he conceived of Enrique José Varona as a figure of continental significance and one that might serve as the necessary link and point of contact among the intellectuals of America. This volume commemorating the great Cuban was to be a sort of compendium of Americanism, of continental solidarity, and it was hoped that the leaders of Hispanic thought would contribute their testimony of respect and homage to Varona.

In 1929, the idea was launched in the form of a circular letter signed by a number of distinguished men of letters, among them Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Díez Canedo, García Calderón, García Monge, Henríquez Ureña, Fernando Ortiz, and J. M. Chacón y Calvo. The undoubted merits of Varona were noted, and the long mission that he had served in the cause of Cuban culture, more than justifying this manifestation of reverence in which he was held throughout the Spanish-speaking world. Hence the project of a memorial volume, to embrace a number of studies both of the man and his labor.

During the years that the individual contributions were being assembled, Varona died, at the advanced age of eighty-four. A few days later, the Dirección de Cultura of the Ministry of Education made manifest its intention of stimulating cultural aspirations by the publication of this volume of close to six hundred pages. The list of contributors is distinguished and the variety of the monographs included notable. The initial study of the personality and work of Varona is by Rafael Montoro. Several other articles are devoted to various aspects of Varona's life and work. Joaquín Llaverías writes on "Como pensaba Varona sobre Cuba en 1878 y 1879". There are personal reminiscences such as Gonzalo Arostegui's "Como conocí a Enrique José Varona", and a study by Dr. Carlos Trelles on the bibliography of Varona. This latter contribution reflects the multiplicity of interests that characterized the distinguished Cuban. His literary works alone constitute an imposing array of significant lectures, books, and pamphlets. Other articles are solid contributions to philosophy, philology, poetry, politics, and history, particularly the development of Cuban affairs during the last half of the nineteenth century and the first three decades of the present. Even this does not complete the evidence of the remarkable monographs on biography, sociology, public instruction, finance and, above all, international relations as they touched Cuba at the time of the change of sovereignty in 1899.

Aside from these testimonials to the talents of Varona, the volume includes stimulating studies on other phases of American letters and history. Charles E. Chapman, Jorge Mañach, Francisco Monterde, Antonio Gómez Restrepo, Sanín Cano, and host of others have aided in the making of this serious work.

It is interesting to note that the Universidad de la Habana has collaborated in creating a chair to bear the name of Varona, free in character and open particularly to foreign lectures.

RICHARD PATTEE.

University of Puerto Rico.

Pichardo's treatise on the limits of Louisiana and Texas. . . . Translated into English by CHARLES WILSON HACKETT and CHARMION CLAIR SHELBY, and annotated by CHARLES WILSON HACKETT. Volume II (Part II, Paragraphs 445-1527, inclusive). (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1934. Pp. xv, 618. \$6.50.)

This volume embodies a partial continuation of Part II of the great document which the Mexican priest, José Pichardo, was ordered to draw up in 1805 in support of the Spanish claims to Texas. These chapters of the translation present largely geographical material in the effort to prove that Coronado and Soto traversed Texas, thus making more firm the Spanish title derived from exploration. They are notable, however, for the many excerpts from earlier writers on those and other explorers, constituting valuable historical matter.

Most interesting in this portion is the lengthy argument that the Quivira of Coronado was between the Trinity and Sabine rivers, rather than farther northwest as most historians have believed. Pichardo's striking statement that Soto also traveled over that area is included, although the supporting data are to appear in a later volume. The editor has continued the thorough and scholarly notes, both explanatory and bibliographical, and in them has analyzed the conflicts of Pichardo's conclusions with those of other authorities. One might wonder at the definite interpretations given to the priest's geographical descriptions in view of the confusion of Texas river names betrayed earlier (discussed in volume I, introd., and notes to Part II, chap. 6, and barely mentioned by the editor in this volume).

The profuse claims of the United States to Texas, based on French explorations, which have been evoked ever since 1803, appear more than ever inadequate in the light of Pichardo's work. The mass of

materials the priest used and his painstaking detail lead one to agree with the editor that his conclusions "are a challenge to the historical investigator and will justify a re-investigation" of the Spanish explorations. It must, however, be remembered that the treatise is to some extent special pleading, drawn up for use in the negotiation of limits with the United States. Only the time required for the copying of such a long document prevented it from reaching Spain in time to play a substantial part in that diplomacy (see Philip C. Brooks, "Pichardo's treatise and the Adams-Onís treaty", in this REVIEW, XV. (Feb. 1935) 94-99).

The editor and Miss Charmion Clair Shelby have produced a readable English account from the complex style of the Spanish original, and in his editing Professor Hackett has presented clearly matter which it is difficult to follow in its original form. The Pichardo map showing the boundaries proposed by himself and other authorities, reproduced in part in volume I, now appears in full. Historians may look forward with interest to the appearance of later volumes.

PHILIP C. BROOKS.

Washington, D. C.

Rebel Destiny: Among the Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana. By MELVILLE J. and FRANCES S. HERSKOVITZ. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1934. Pp. xvii, 366. Illus. Index. \$3.00.)

The authors of this book are well known for their studies on African influences in the formation of societies in America.

Among Afro-American social groups most interesting to ethnology are the Negroes of the Guianas. In those regions, protected by the density of their forests, social groups were formed from fugitive slaves. Among all people where the slave mass has been dense and geographical and social conditions have permitted, slaves have rebelled against their masters, by means of revolutions, civil wars, individual and collective flight, and even by personal or mass suicide. In the West Indies, the Cimaroons or slaves who had fled to the summits of the mountains were very numerous, where they built forts and formed nuclei of independent settlements. In Cuba, for instance, there were many stockaded towns. In Jamaica, the Maroons (an English word derived from the Spanish *Cimarrón*) were so strong in the Blue Mountains, that they fought with the British troops, until a treaty of peace

was signed, without being defeated. Something similar occurred with respect to the Negroes of the Guianas. Already at the end of the seventeenth century, the Cimaroons in Dutch Guiana were very numerous in the thickets up along the Surinam River; and in the eighteenth century they obtained their independence after a series of military campaigns made against them by the Dutch who were unable to conquer them. The relatively small number of the Cimaroons of the Surinam, their geographical isolation, their backward culture, and their economic unimportance caused their independence to be real and sustained, even though it was unrecognized internationally and was definitely absorbed by the European government of Surinam or that of Dutch Guiana, from its capital of Paramaribo. But even to this day, the Saramaca Negroes (for they call the Surinam River Saramaca) make up the tribe of Guiana Negroes most remote from contact with white towns and are those of most independent life. Doubtless, because of their different ethnographical characteristics and their effective political sufficiency, the Saramaca people, even though it does not figure as such by consent of the nations, has a social life of at least as great importance as that of Andorra, San Marino, Luxemburg, and other small states which exist in Europe as medieval survivals.

The book under review is a brilliant contribution to the ethnographic study of this tribe. It is written for the public at large without the apparatus of scholarly erudition necessary in scientific books; yet it bristles with data of great use to the ethnologist and the sincerity and scholarly reputation of its authors allow one to make use of these data with full confidence in their accuracy—which does not always occur with books of this class, in which the author's interest as a publicist and his literary emotion lead him to fill his book with flashy episodes, exciting expositions, and groundless fancies, so that the reader must refuse to consider such books as studies as he can not distinguish the objective work of the explorer from the imagination of the literary man or from the emotions of the journalist. The authors of the present book have kept their scholarly attitude, although they have given to their book a fluent, easy style and written a narrative filled with surprises and mysteries.

It is generally believed that the African Negro, on being brought from his native country, was totally submerged and in exchange has had no influence on the social formation of the peoples who have incorporated him in their mass. This is a crass error, which is being

dissipated. But there still remains much to do in order to determine scientifically the contribution of the Negro to American civilization, both in economics and in psychology, both in the social and political life, and both in religion and art.

The study of the Saramaca Negroes shows a social group of Negroes of African culture, especially the Dahomeen and Ashanti, in intimate contact with the South American Indians (Caribs and Arawaks) and having slight traces of the whites. Careful study of this book shows numerous religious survivals which extend in America from Brazil to Cuba wherever slaves from the old coasts of Guinea have been found—especially those from the Gold Coast to the Niger.

Although the authors have no desire that their book be considered an ethnographic treatise, ethnographers on reading it will have occasion to make excellent discoveries. Some facts observed among the Saramacas permit interesting considerations: among them the survival of the *Ka*, a metaphysical concept of the old Egyptians; a custom resembling an old form of the *couvade*. The book concludes with a good glossary and an index.

FERNANDO ORTIZ.

Havana.

Estudios y Documentos para la Historia del Arte Colonial. Vol. I. By MARTÍN S. NOEL and JOSÉ TORRE REVELLO. (Buenos Aires: S. A. Casa Jacobo Peuser, Ltda., 1934. Large quarto. Pp. xv, 193. 45 plates. Indices. An edition of 1,000 numbered copies.)

With this volume the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas at the University of Buenos Aires has inaugurated a new series of publications under the general title of "Historia del Arte durante la Época Colonial." It will be warmly welcomed by those who appreciate the significance of art in the history of Hispanic America. To many it will prove a revelation of an important phase of Spanish culture which has received surprisingly little attention.

In a brief foreword (pp. ix-xv) the director of the Institute, Dr. Emilio Ravignani, states that his predecessor Dr. Luís María Torres, originated the plan for the series and that the material for this first volume was ready in 1929. But he assures us that the works which have been "blockaded" by the economic distress of recent years have now been published. He gives merited recognition to the university

work and the previous publications of the architect, Martín S. Noel, and to the long and productive archival work at Seville of José Torre Revello.

In his study of "Viceregal Architecture", Sr. Noel begins with an evaluation of a work which appeared a century ago: *Noticias de los arquitectos y arquitectura de España desde su restauración* by Eugenio Llaguno y Amírola, edited by Cean-Bermúdez (Madrid, 1829). He then discusses the character of the Spanish architecture which influenced art in the colonies, and lastly he takes up the creole reaction and other esthetic currents which have influenced Hispanic-American architecture.

The documentary background is given in the supplement by Torre Revello, in transcripts and descriptions of various archives found in Seville, accompanied by full-page plates of the original plans of cathedral churches and municipal buildings in Panamá, Quito, Lima, Arequipa, Valparaíso, Concepción, Quillota, and San Martín de la Concha. The beautiful photographic plates accompanying Noel's text give the reader a glimpse also of the architectural riches in such cities as Santo Domingo, Habana, Potosí, Cuzco, Ayacucho, Santiago de Chile.

For students of architecture and those who would become acquainted historically with this phase of Hispanic American culture, this sumptuous volume will prove an open sesame. The present reviewer is not qualified to say whether there is any serious omission of earlier authorities; apparently in their notes and text these authors have intended to give full and careful recognition to all prior students in this field. The predominance of Mexican and Argentinian authorities is noticeable, especially since 1921, but others are included from the United States (Sylvester Baxter), Germany (M. L. Wagner and Otto Schubert), Ecuador (J. G. Navarro and Isaac Barrera), Perú (P. Cobo and M. González de la Rosa, J. Uriel García and Alberto A. Giesecke, José G. Cossio), Panamá (Juan B. Sosa and E. J. Arce), and Spain (Pedro Torres Lanzas and González Palencia).

The press-work has been meticulously done, evidenced by the fact that a final page notes a single erratum which escaped in proof-reading.

LANSING B. BLOOM.

University of New Mexico.

An American-Mexican Frontier. By PAUL SCHUSTER TAYLOR. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1934. Pp. xiii, 337. \$3.50.)

Nueces County, Texas, is the scene and field of intensive study for this important work. It is the center of long historical contacts and conflicts of Indians, American whites, Negroes, and Mexicans. There the past lives in the present, since the American residents still cherish the dominant Texan traditions which are occasionally modified by changing conditions.

In this account is pictured the Spanish-Mexican expansion which caused the gradual settlement of the country and winning against Indian hostility. Then came the entry of the Texan-Americans, first in the roll of traders and smugglers, but soon they became landowners. The Texas Revolution and American political and economic domination followed. The border conflicts and filibustering raids which continued after the war of 1846-1848 are described. The flight of Negro slaves across the Rio Grande prior to the Civil War and the border friction in the Nueces region is discussed. Mexican retaliation took the form of raids into Texas. The relations of Mexicans and Americans between the Nueces and Rio Grande during the Civil War were as various as they had been earlier and have been since that period. From the close of the war to 1880 the friction along the Texas border was intense and almost continuous. Under economic conditions are included population groups, the labor market, the labor supply, wages and earnings, labor relations, debts of the cotton pickers, non-agricultural labor, the socio-economic ladder, law observance and enforcement, Mexican societies, Mexican clerks and business men, leasing and ownership of property, education, school separation, domiciliary isolation, politics, Mexicans, Texas-Mexicans, and Mexican-Americans, social isolation, and the immigration policy.

The work has many very useful economic tables and some illustrations which depict Mexican life in Nueces County. Thirty-one pages of field notes, which add interest and value to the book, are included, and there is an index of six pages.

The errors noted are unimportant and the book is well printed. The work should be very helpful in understanding the problems of Mexicans who live in the frontier states of the United States.

LILLIAN ESTELLE FISHER.

Oklahoma College for Women.

The Economic Literature of Latin America. A Tentative Bibliography. Compiled by the STAFF OF THE BUREAU FOR ECONOMIC RESEARCH IN LATIN AMERICA, HARVARD UNIVERSITY. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935. Pp. xvii, 315. \$4.00.)

In a bibliography one wishes reasonable completeness, or ease of locating an item, or both. But the task of compiling an ideal bibliography is arduous and painstaking, and the person or group issuing an extensive list of works does well to get out a preliminary or tentative guide before publishing a more definite one. Moreover, the compiling of extensive bibliographies has now come to be regarded as the work not of one individual but of many working coöperatively. The editors of this bibliography have realized these facts, for the volume has been prepared "in order to furnish a working tool to scholars and others interested in the economic affairs of the Latin-American countries", by a group of scholars working in coöperation to attain a common goal.

As pointed out in the Introduction, a number of scattered and generally unrelated bibliographical efforts have been made on the part of numerous individuals in this country interested in things Hispanic American. Several organizations have sponsored these activities but as yet nothing has been accomplished in compiling a systematic and comprehensive bibliography of Americana. Most of the moneyed foundations have yet to be convinced of the truth of a statement once made by the great bibliographer Harrissee that a bibliography is to the historian what a chart is to the mariner. Fortunately, an agency now exists for the formal coördination of all American bibliographical efforts. It is the recently reorganized group, formerly called the Inter-American Bibliographical Association, now called the Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association, headed by Dr. James A. Robertson. Through coöperation with the Pan American Union, the American Library Association, the American Library Institute, and other bodies, this group hopes to create the fundamental basis of all American bibliographies—a union catalogue of Hispanic Americana. It is hoped that this greatly desired end can be attained through the coöperation and assistance of the American states assembled in the general International American Conferences or, more especially, through the efforts of a special Pan American bibliographical conference which so far has not convened.

The volume under review was closed with the year 1932, but an

appendix lists a number of important works appearing during the two subsequent years. In each case, the items have been listed, not with complete bibliographical data, but with sufficient information so that the student can identify the references. This information has been assembled from foreign publications, from United States publications, from library catalogues, and from unpublished private bibliographical notes. A number of individuals have contributed their knowledge and time to the preparation of the book. Chief among these are Dr. J. F. Normano, who initiated the undertaking, and Professor Haring, under whose direction the work was completed, revised, and prepared for the press. Funds to make the study possible came from the Harvard University Committee on Research in the Social Sciences.

The volume is arranged under a general heading, "Latin America", and under separate headings for each South American country. These are subdivided into four topics: Economic and Social Theory, The Indian Economy, The Colonial Economy, and The Period Since Independence. The latter division is further subdivided into twelve sections entitled Economic Conditions, Travel and Description, Agriculture, Industry, Population, Labor, Trade, Transportation and Communication, Public Finance, Currency and Banking, Capital Migrations, and International Economic Relations. Many of these headings and subheadings are preceded by brief introductory statements concerning the most important available works. A subsequent volume will deal with northern Hispanic America. An appendix of extreme value is entitled "Notes on the Statistical Sources of South America". An addendum contains selected materials published in 1933 and 1934. In all, there are 6,244 items—probably a small fraction of the existing material on the subject. The index is by authors.

A bibliography must be judged as much by its omissions as by its contents, and it is here that the book may be chiefly criticized. Important works arbitrarily omitted by the compilers include most government publications, League of Nations publications, publications of chambers of commerce, banks, trade associations, committees of bondholders, etc., and much periodical material. To the student of Hispanic American economic affairs, the importance of these exclusions is undeniably significant—and to some it may be tragic—for quite often it is these mediums which contain primary source information for doctoral dissertations. Moreover, maps, the windows through which the economic historian views his field, are nowhere considered

in the bibliography. Nor is there any list of pertinent economic periodicals—an omission greatly to be deplored.

To the reviewer, the value of this work lies in the fact that it is a beginning, and only a beginning, in the right direction. If a second volume dealing with the Caribbean area is published, it would seem highly desirable to issue supplementary volumes to make reasonably complete the list of items of an economic nature published through the year 1932. If this year should then be considered a point of departure for further economic bibliographies, the Bureau of Economic Research might make its publications indispensable by issuing annual lists with the most important items annotated. In any case, the price of the volume should be reduced, even if it is necessary to publish the books in paper bindings. Harvard University has begun with this volume a work that should continue and, despite the tentative character of the first effort, individuals throughout the Western Hemisphere will welcome this book as an important addition to the bibliographical aids already available.

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

The George Washington University.

NOTES AND COMMENT

THE HISTORIA DE LA NACIÓN ARGENTINA

Of the various agencies which have furthered the scientific study of history in Argentina the "Junta de Historia y Numismática Americana" is one of the most important. It was founded in 1893 by former President Bartolome Mitré, whose residence at no. 336 Calle San Martín in Buenos Aires it shares with the "Institución Mitré". As a free and independent organization, composed of many of the outstanding historians of the country, it has at all times jealously guarded its autonomy. At first, much emphasis was placed on the study of medals and coins, but soon the furtherance of historical studies and investigations took precedence and it is now recognized as the foremost historical society of Argentina. It has a formidable series of publications to its credit, including a facsimile reprint of the *Gaceta de Buenos Aires*, *El Telégrafo Mercantil*, and the voyage of the sixteenth-century traveler, Ulrich Schmidel. Recently, it has published the Acts of the Congress of Tucumán. Its *Boletín* contains a number of monographs of note. It has never interpreted its functions narrowly. Its point of view is implicit in its title; the solidarity of Argentine history with the history of all of South America. Of its membership, thirty-nine are "miembros de número" in Buenos Aires; of its thirty-seven corresponding members in Argentina, seventeen are to be found in the two "Juntas Filiales" of Córdoba and Rosario, and the remainder throughout the various provinces and territories. Of the foreign corresponding members, six are in the United States.

The junta is about to embark on what bids fair to be the greatest and most ambitious undertaking of its career. Through its own initiative, definite plans have been formulated for the publication of a monumental *Historia de la Nación Argentina*. Though full responsibility for the preparation of this great work is to rest with the junta, it will enjoy official support. After an interesting discussion in congress, in which all parties, including the socialists, enthusiastically adhered to the project, an appropriation of 175,000 pesos was voted by the federal government. This liberality other countries might well emulate.

The character of this new history is suggested by Dr. Ricardo Levene:

El plan de esta obra fundamental—concebido con pensamiento histórico y filosófico a la vez—abarca el proceso genético de la sociedad argentina desde sus orígenes pre y protohistóricos, estudiando el desenvolvimiento de sus manifestaciones económicas, políticas, culturales, militares y religiosas, así de la Nación como de las provincias y comprendiendo el significado del factor heroico de nuestra historia.

The history is to be coöperative in character; up to the present time, the list of individual contributors, all of them specialists, has not been drawn up, but there is every assurance that it will be a strong one. The committee in charge (*mesa directiva*) consists of Dr. Ricardo Levene, president of the University of La Plata and eminent historian (president); Sr. Rómulo Zabala, director of the Museo Mitre, director of the Boletín de la Junta de Historia y Numismática Americana, and historian of note (first vice-president); Dr. Octavio R. Amadeo, well-known authority on constitutional law and historian (second vice-president); Dr. Enrique de Gandía, author of a score of books on Argentina history (secretary); and Dr. Manuel V. Figuerero, prominent educator and historian on the Province of Corrientes (assistant-secretary and treasurer).

The history is to be published in ten quarto (4° *menor*) volumes, with an added volume devoted to an analytical and alphabetical index. Only one thousand copies of these eleven volumes will be printed. In smaller format is to appear a two-volume resumé or manual, and a one volume historical and geographical atlas. These latter works, of which five thousand copies are to be printed, are designed to serve as texts both in private and public schools. It is assumed that subsequent editions of these texts will be printed as needed.

Two hundred copies both of the history and the texts are to be presented to the Junta de Historia e Numismática Americana and to the contributors to these works. The remaining copies are to be turned over to the Comisión Protectora de Bibliotecas Populares, of which the distinguished writer and educator, Dr. Juan Pablo Echagüe, is president. The commission will proceed to distribute and sell them at cost. One half of the proceeds will be credited to the account of the "Fomento de Bibliotecas" of this commission, and the other half will be turned back to the government.

The titles and the divisions of the ten-volume history have, with two exceptions already been selected, and are as follows:

PRIMERA SECCIÓN

Las Culturas Indígenas. (1 vol.)

I. Tiempos prehistóricos y protohistóricos.

SEGUNDA SECCIÓN

España y la Dominación Española en Indias. (2 vols.)

II. Europa y España en los siglos XV y XVI y el momento histórico de los descubrimientos.

III. La colonización y la organización institucional en Hispano-América. Adelantados y gobernadores del Río de la Plata. El momento histórico del Virreinato del Río de la Plata.

TERCERA SECCIÓN

La Revolución de la Independencia en América y La Revolución de Mayo. (2 vols.)

IV. Los orígenes y desarrollo de la Revolución americana, particularmente hispanoamericana y argentina.

V. La obra orgánica y los hombres representativos de la Revolución de Mayo.

CUARTA SECCIÓN

Historia Geográfica, Económica, Institucional, Cultural, Religiosa, Militar y Naval de la Nación desde la Revolución de Mayo hasta la Organización definitiva (1862). (3 vols.)

VI. El proceso de la Independencia y de la organización política interna desde la Revolución de Mayo al advenimiento de Rosas en el Gobierno (1829).

VII. Rosas y su época.

VIII. Los hombres de la organización nacional y la Constitución de 1853. La Confederación y Buenos Aires hasta la organización definitiva de la Nación (1862).

QUINTA SECCIÓN

Formación de las Provincias y su Historia Geográfica, Económica, Institucional y Cultural desde la Revolución de Mayo hasta la Organización definitiva de la Nación (1862). (2 vols.)

IX. (Title not yet selected.)

X. (Title not yet selected.)

If a foreigner might venture a criticism of this great undertaking it would have to do with the date set for the close of the survey. The story is to be brought up to the "definite organization of the nation" in 1862. This date, it will be recalled, marks the end of the political schism between the Province and City of Buenos Aires on the one hand and the Argentina Confederation on the other, as signalized by

the Battle of Pavón (1861) and the inauguration of President Mitre (1862). But it was not until 1880, with the definite federalization of Buenos Aires, that the thorny problem of the relation of the capital to the rest of the nation was finally solved. Obviously, however, the Argentine historians are best qualified to decide when the "definite organization" of the republic took place. On the other hand, one can not but regret that the decades of the sixties and the seventies, with such exciting events as the Paraguayan War, the administration of the dynamic Sarmiento, and the "Conquest of the Desert" by General Roca may not find a place in what for many years to come will unquestionably be the canonical history of Argentina.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

Stanford University.

NOTICIAS SECRETAS

Justice demands comment on a passage in this REVIEW (XIII. 363) in which Miss Barber is taken to task by Dr. Irving A. Leonard for her use of "secondary material"—meaning the confidential report of Juan and Ulloa, described as "written by two boys at a time when it was fashionable to write snappy stuff about Spanish blundering in America". Señor Cervera y Jiménez Alfaro in his monograph on Jorge Juan (Madrid, 1927) gives the facts. Ulloa and Juan were aged nineteen and twenty-one years respectively when they were commissioned in 1735 to accompany the French scientific mission to Quito; but when, after their return to Spain in 1746, they were ordered by Ensenada to write a confidential report, they counted thirty-one and thirty-three years, young men, but matured by hard trials, varied experiences, and grave responsibility, having spent nine years in South America and having been summoned to Lima by the viceroy to concert defensive measures against British attack and to advise about the organization of the Spanish fleet in the Pacific. Ulloa, as a prisoner of war in England, had been elected a fellow of the Royal Society—a rare tribute to the intellectual qualities of an enemy in war time; and Juan, on visiting Paris, had been elected a member of the French Royal Academy of Sciences. In their preface, first published, in part only, by Señor Cervera, they insist on the private and secret character of their report and express extreme anxiety lest it should be divulged, mentioning the discredit caused by the writings of Las Casas; and

they explain that their object is to inform ministers of abuses with a view to reform. In the first paragraph of Part II, which deals with the treatment of the Indians, they write again that their report is "for the secret instruction of the minister and of those who ought to know and not for the amusement of the idle . . . in order that means of reform may be devised"; and in Chapter IV, they reiterate the private character of this report. The book, opened at random, reveals an exposition of the best means of supplying the Pacific fleet with tallow, canvas, and iron—dull matters of routine.

It is true that the part concerning the Indians betrays indignant emotion and contains some sensational stories; but it is not light reading. Moreover, the authors usually aid the critical judgment of the reader by mentioning their informant when they relate matters not based on their own observation. It is perfectly just to argue that some particular original "source" is untrustworthy and that all original authorities demand careful scrutiny—indeed the present writer spoke long ago of rhetorical exaggeration in the *Noticias Secretas*. But it is difficult to see how an official report based on observation and inquiry carried out during several years can be described as "secondary" material; and the language used by Dr. Leonard seems unjust both to Miss Barber and to the authors of the report, both of whom had distinguished careers in the service of their country, both before and after the writing of the report.

There is some real historical import in a minor point, namely, the question who are the authors who in the mid eighteenth century set the fashion or followed the fashion of writing snappy stuff about Spanish America.

F. A. KIRKPATRICK.

London.

[See the biographical article by Professor Arthur P. Whitaker on Antonio de Ulloa, in this REVIEW for May, 1935. This is the best article on Ulloa that has appeared in English.—Ed.]

TOSCANELLI

The late Mr. Henry Vignaud published four imposing volumes and finally a summary of their contents—the fruit of much learning, labor, and ingenuity—in the attempt to prove two points:

1. That Columbus, before his first voyage, had no design of reaching eastern Asia by sailing westward.

2. That the Toscanelli correspondence is a forgery.

Vignaud fails to prove his first proposition; but he gives strong reasons for doubting whether the Latin letter, purporting to have been sent to a Portuguese priest in 1474, could have been written in that year. According to Vignaud, the letter mentions events and projects which are later than 1474. Yet Vignaud's own theory defies belief, since it implies that Bartholomew Columbus had enough literary skill and latinity to perpetrate a fraud which deceived not only his contemporaries, but a dozen generations of historians. Besides inherent probability, there are four definite objections to such a theory: 1. The letter supposed to have been forged to vindicate Columbus's scientific qualifications can not be reconciled with any thing that Columbus had done or claimed to have done; 2. Columbus's geographical attainments are mentioned slightly in the correspondence; 3. Columbus is addressed as if he were a Portuguese—a natural error in a Florentine writing to an unknown inhabitant of Lisbon, but a point unlikely to occur to a forger; 4. it is inconceivable that a forger, writing to exalt Columbus's claims as a discoverer, would have written *insula Antilia vobis nota*, a phrase which, if not positively damaging, requires much explaining away. Moreover, Vignaud omits two points essential to his thesis. He argues that the latinity of the letter is unworthy of a scholar such as Toscanelli. This argument means no more than an assertion that if Toscanelli wrote the letter, he was (in this instance at least) a poor or careless latinist. The argument, to have any weight, should be based on a thorough comparison with the latinity of Toscanelli's other writings. Again, Vignaud finds, with some reason, that the fantastic and obsolete geography of the letter is unworthy of Toscanelli's reputation as a geographer. This argument, though stronger than that concerning the latinity, is unconvincing without careful examination of Toscanelli's geographical writings, and proof that the Latin letter is inconsistent with them.

Yet Vignaud's main contention, that the contents of the letter can not fit the date 1474, has not yet received a convincing reply. De Lollis, in his *disquizione critica*, answers Vignaud's slighter arguments, but hardly touches his more substantial points. The question should be elucidated only by a scholar or by two collaborators approaching the matter without bias and thoroughly conversant with the Portuguese archives and with Toscanelli's other writings and correspondence.

The present writer believes that Columbus wrote or sent an inquiry to Florence and received the recorded replies, but thinks it possible that Toscanelli—an old man and not far from his end—may have allowed (perhaps unintentionally) a secretary or nephew to copy a letter of 1474 with editing and additions to suit the occasion. It is unlikely that Toscanelli copied the letter with his own hand and not impossible that he omitted to read the copy. Whether in this way or otherwise, it is perhaps possible that an amanuensis—whether by way of a literary flourish or through misunderstanding—attributed to the date 1474 matter that will not fit that date. But the question still awaits elucidation.

F. A. KIRKPATRICK.

London.

REPORT OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF LIBRARIES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

At the Second International Congress of Libraries and Bibliography, which met in Spain in May of this year, I had the honor to represent the *HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*. The ten days the congress met, May twentieth to thirtieth, and the few days afterwards that I spent in Palma and in Barcelona, were full of pleasure and of interest. However, I shall limit these notes to a summary of the business of the congress.

All the meetings of the congress but one were held in Madrid; the exception being that held in Barcelona. The subject for discussion was the International Loan of Books, its desirability, the legal aspects, practical problems of transportation, the organization necessary for its realization, and similar matters. Most of the delegates, among them the writer, felt that the general meetings were less rewarding than the three meetings at which the congress divided into small groups to discuss different phases of library and bibliographical work. My interests took me to the discussions of Spanish Bibliography. At the first meeting, the history of Spanish bibliography was outlined by Señor Homero Serís, who at the same time commented on the extent and value of the chief Spanish bibliographies. Señor Areitio described the work of the library of the Diputación de Vizcaya, a present-day attempt to build up a library with the emphasis given to regional works, and to compile as nearly complete a bibliography of

works related to the Basque provinces as possible. Catalonia had two representatives, and the paper of one of them, Señor Givanel Mas, on Cervantes bibliography, was particularly interesting to American bibliographers because of its references to Ford and Lansing's recent bibliography of Cervantes. I paid an interesting visit later to the Cervantes collection in the Biblioteca de Cataluña, the richest collection of Cervantes material in the world, of which Señor Givanel Mas is curator and through which he acted as my guide.

Spanish Bibliography in Foreign Countries was discussed by representatives of Italy, France, and the United States. The Italian delegates presented ample proof of the attention given in their country to Spanish subjects, both in general and specifically to Spanish manuscripts in Italian libraries. The United States was represented by Mr. Lord, who spoke opportunely in this tercentenary of the death of Lope de Vega, on the materials by that author in the Rennert collection in the University of Pennsylvania and in the Ticknor Collection in his own library, the Boston Public; and by the writer, who presented a paper on Spanish Literary Bibliography and Collections of Spanish Literature in the United States, at the same time indicating that her complementary paper, on Spanish Historical Bibliography in the United States, would be published in the transactions of the congress. Señor Vicens de la Llave sounded an international note by explaining the desirability of having a Union Catalogue of all works published in Spanish, wherever printed, and outlining the steps, some of which have already been taken, necessary for the realization of this plan.

To turn to what the congress saw, the libraries in the cities visited were very generous in their exhibitions and also in providing catalogues and descriptive notes about them. The writer regrets having been forced to forego the visits to Salamanca and to the University Library in Madrid, both on the regular schedule of the congress and both said to have been very interesting. However, the remaining exhibitions were numerous. The public library in Toledo had organized a display showing the early history of printing in that city. The earliest work printed there, thought to date from 1480, is the *Leyes que los muy altos e muy poderosos principes los reyes nuestros senhores fecieron e ordenaron en las Cortes de la muy noble cibdad de Toledo*. The latest important work of the collection is F. X. de Castañeda's *Relación de los solemnes aparatos, magníficos afectuosos festejos . . .*

con que en Toledo . . . se celebró la colocación de Christo Sacramentado (1732).

The library of the Escorial, enlarging the size of its usual exhibition, permitted the congress to see some of its books and many of its precious manuscripts. Any person even faintly interested in Spanish history and literature could not fail to exult at the sight of the manuscripts of Alfonso el Sabio: the *Cántigas de Santa María*, the *Crónica de España*, the *Libro de los juegos* (happily opened at the illustration of the game of chess). Interesting to those of us with a weakness for things Mexican were two sixteenth century manuscripts, the *Imitation of Christ* translated into an Indian tongue, and the *Historia de los indios de Michoacán*, written by a Franciscan and illustrated in black and brown and red by the Indians.

The Palace Library in Madrid exhibited books and manuscripts, and especially called attention to its bindings from the time of Philip V. to the present. In the National Library was exhibited material relating to Lope. The Municipal Archives of Madrid presented the congress with an imposing catalogue in Latin of the 152 items it displayed, among them documents relating to the history of Madrid, some preserving the large and heavy seals with thirteenth century figures on them, autographs of plays by writers such as Calderón de la Barca, plans of Madrid at various periods, and a few early books.

Needless to say, one interested in Americana longs to linger over the libraries in Seville. The congress stayed there for not quite two days, and during that time saw more than libraries, but it did have an opportunity to see, very cursorily indeed, the wealth of the Colombina collection and the rest of the Cathedral Library, the Archivo de las Indias, the Municipal and University Libraries, and the Hemeroteca in the Alcázar. At the Colombina, particularly interesting was, besides Christopher Columbus's books, interlined in his own hand, the unique copy of Dati's versification of Columbus's account of the new world, *Lastoria della inventione delle nuove insule di Channaria indiane*, printed in 1493. A very full exhibit of Columbus documents was on display at the Archivo de las Indias, as well as sources for the later history of the Americas.

ANNITA MELVILLE KER.

Library of Congress.

The American Council of Learned Societies is able to offer a limited number of small grants to individual scholars to assist them in carrying on definite projects of research in the humanistic sciences: philosophy; philology, literature, and linguistics; archaeology and art; musicology; history, especially all branches of cultural and intellectual history, but exclusive of those branches that are essentially social, economic, and political history; and auxiliary sciences. Grants are designed to assist research by scholars who are trained in scientific methods of investigation. The maximum of the grants is three hundred dollars. Small additional allowance may, however, be made at the discretion of the Committee to meet unusual expenses involved in the research; the nature of such expense must be indicated in the application. Applicants must be citizens of the United States or Canada or permanently employed or domiciled therein; they must be *actually engaged* in the research for which they request assistance, and must *personally be in need* of the aid for which they apply. Applicants must possess a doctor's degree or its equivalent in training, study, and experience. No grants will be made to assist in the fulfillment of requirements for any academic degree. Applications must be made in duplicate upon special forms provided for that purpose, and must be mailed to the Secretary for Fellowships and Grants, American Council of Learned Societies, 907 Fifteenth Street, Washington, D. C., not later than January 15. Awards will be made in April.

Dr. Samuel G. Inman, of the Committee on Coöperation in Latin America, who left for "one more trip" to Hispanic America, wrote of his experiences in a letter of April 15 while en route to Asunción. This has been mimeographed and sent out to various interested people. Copies may probably be had from the offices of the Committee, 254 Fourth Ave., New York City. His notes on Brazil are especially interesting.

The Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America, Inc., held its tenth annual seminar in Mexico, July 3-28, 1935. Leaders and lecturers for this seminar were as follows: Ramón Beteta, The Economic Problems of Mexico; Edwin M. Borchard, Inter-American Relations; Carlos Chavez, The Music of Mexico; Erna Fergusson, The Mexican People—Fiesta, Folklore, and Dance; Berta Gamboa de Camino, The Literature of Mexico; C. Adolph Glassgold, Mexican Art—Revolutionary Painting; Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre, Forces

in Latin American Life; Hubert Herring, Forces in Latin American Life; Chester Lloyd Jones, The Economic Problems of Mexico; Fernando Ortiz, Forces in Latin American Life; Angel Roldán, The Flora of Mexico; Ellen and Herbert J. Spinden, The Archæology of Mexico; Frances Toor, Mexican Art—Handicraft and Popular Art; Arturo Torres-Rioseco, The Mexican People—Cultural Backgrounds; Elizabeth Wallace, The Literature of Mexico; Derwent S. Whittlesey, The Economic Geography of Mexico. Numerous field trips to nearby points of interest were a part of the course; and at the end of the seminar three optional trips were planned, namely, to the states of Oaxaca, Michoacán, and Vera Cruz.

By decree of the Spanish Republic, the twenty-sixth session of the International Congress of Americanists was assembled October 2, 1935, at Seville.

Miss Annita Ker, of the Library of Congress, acted as representative of THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW at the International Library Conference held in Spain in May, 1935. Miss Ker read a paper in Spanish on Spanish collections in the United States. Her report is printed in this issue of the REVIEW.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND OTHER ITEMS

In an earlier number of this REVIEW, reference was made to the foundation of the "Chaire Gabriel Hanotaux" at the University of Paris, under the general auspices of the Institut des Études Américaines, which in turn depends upon the Comité France-Amérique. The inauguration ceremonies took place on January 28, 1935, on the eightieth birthday of M. Hanotaux. The first to occupy this chair was Dr. Paul Rivet, professor in the National Museum of Natural History, director of the Ethnographical Museum of the Trocadéro, and widely recognized authority on pre-Columbian America. The title of his ten lectures which were delivered between January 28 and April 8, 1935, had as their general subject "Les Origines et la civilisation américaines avant Christophe Colomb". The scope and importance of these lectures, which undoubtedly will be published, is indicated by the titles.

1. L'Amérique au point de vue géologique.
2. L'origine de l'homme américaine.
3. L'homme supposé tertiaire de l'Amérique du Sud.
4. Époque où l'Amérique s'est peuplée.
5. Les Australiens en Amérique.
6. Les Mélando-Polynésiens en Amérique.
7. Relations commerciales entre la Polynésie et l'Amérique.
8. Les grandes civilisations de l'Amérique: le Mexique.
9. Le Pérou.
10. Tableau des civilisations indigènes à l'arrivée des Européens.

Attention has already been drawn in previous instalments of these notes to the Collection Ibéro-Américaine, published by the International Institute of Intellectual Coöperation of the League of Nations. Four volumes have already appeared (January, 1935). These are: *Historiens Chiliens* (pages choisies), translated by Georges Pillement, with an introduction by the well-known Mexican historian, Carlos Pereyra. This useful book contains extracts from Chilean historians arranged chronologically from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries. The second work is a historical romance entitled *Le*

Diamant au Brésil, by Joaquim Felicio dos Santos, translated by Manoel Gahisto, with an introduction by Count Affonso Celso, whose death late in 1934 was such a severe loss to Brazilian history and letters. The third work is *Bolívar* (Choix de lettres, discours et proclamations), translated by Charles V. Aubrun. The preface is written by two distinguished Venezuelan writers and historians, Dr. L. Vallenilla Lanz (minister to France) and Sr. C. Parra Pérez (minister to Rome). The volume not only includes a judicious selection of the most important letters and proclamations of the Liberator but also contains a series of well chosen maps illustrating his military movements throughout northern South America. The fourth volume is the famous *Facundo* by Sarmiento, translated by M. Marcel Bataillon, of the University of Algiers. The preface is from the pen of Sr. Aníbal Ponce, whose own excellent book, *Sarmiento, Constructor de la nueva Argentina* (Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, 1932) has already been mentioned in these notes, and reviewed on pp. 236-238 of this volume of the REVIEW. The translation of *Facundo* is illustrated by a number of excellent reproductions of engravings and paintings of the period. These books are published by the Librairie Stock, 7, Rue de Vieux Colombier, Paris.

The École des Hautes Études Hispaniques of Paris has recently published two works of interest to students of the Spanish Colonial Period by Professor Albert Girard. They are: *La rivalité commerciale et maritime entre Seville et Cádiz jusqu'à la fin du XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1932) and *Le commerce français à Seville et Cádiz au temps des Habsbourgs* (Paris, 1933).

What bids fair to be the standard biography of Queen Isabella II. of Spain has just been written by Pierre de Luz, *Isabelle II, Reine d'Espagne* (Paris, 1934).

Dr. Frederick Casper Wieder, the erudite librarian of the University of Leiden has recently completed a most ambitious five-volume work entitled *Monumenta Cartographia; Reproductions of unique and rare maps, plans and views in the actual size of the originals, accompanied by cartographical monographs* (The Hague, M. Nijhoff, 1923-1933). Only one volume (IV.) of this magnificent work may be touched upon here. This is the reproduction of the Manuscript Atlas by the Dutch cartographer, Johannes Vingboons, prepared about 1665.

The original maps, reproduced by Vingboons, and published now for the first time by Dr. Wieder, are scattered in various libraries, the most important being in that of the Vatican. Since this seventeenth century atlas deals with the colonial activities of the Dutch East and West India companies it follows that a considerable number of the maps are of great interest to students of Hispanic American history. Among the Vingboons maps, now described for the first time, is an extensive map of America and West Africa prepared by the cartographers of the Dutch West India Company. This great map covers no less than fifty-six double folio sheets. These in general go back to Spanish and Portuguese predecessors, but on each sheet Dutch observations have been entered, and there is abundant evidence that entire sheets are based on fresh Dutch observations. It was unknown until now that the West India Company possessed such a *padrón general*, similar to that drawn up at Seville a century earlier. It may rank among the earlier efforts to represent a great part of the world on maps of the same scale.

Interest in the problem of the alleged Jewish origin of Columbus will not down. The eminent Jewish humanitarian, Cyrus Adler, has long been intrigued by the subject, as appears from an article by Dr. George Alexander Kohut, "The Contributions of Cyrus Adler to American Jewish History", in *Publications* of the American Jewish Society, no. 33 (1934). Here is to be found an extensive bibliography on the subject, many of the items of which are in Jewish papers and reviews.

The late Oscar S. Straus, former United States Ambassador to Turkey, and the author of many publications on Jewish subjects, spent much time in his later years to the gathering of data for a book designed to prove that Columbus was of Jewish origin. Much of this material was furnished him by his friend, the noted Spanish statesman, Emilio Castelar. Mr. Straus did not live to finish the book. Most of his literary property went by testamentary disposition to the Hebrew University in Palestine, and it is very probable that the results of his own as well as Castelar's researches are to be found there.

The Swiss-German writer, Paul Frischauer, is the author of a new biography entitled *Garibaldi*, published in 1934 at Zurich in the series known as "Bibliothek zeitgenössischer Werke". The work is divided

into five long chapters, of which one, entitled "The apostle on the shore", takes up in detail Garibaldi's career in South America.

Sr. José Vasconcelos, former secretary of education of Mexico, and now residing in Argentina, is the author of *Bolivarismo and Monroismo* (Santiago de Chile, Editorial Ercilla, 1935).

Under the direction of Sr. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, the eminent critic and literary historian, is to be published a great coöperative *Historia de España*. The names of the seventy-eight collaborators have already been announced; among them are to be found many of the foremost historians, archivists, publicists, and *litterateurs* of the Peninsula. The work will be issued by the well-known firm of Espasa-Calpe.

The fourth volume of the *Historia Universal*, published by Espasa-Calpe, has just been issued (Madrid-Barcelona, 1935). It is entitled "La época del Gótico y el Renacimiento". Of particular interest is the section on "La época de los descubrimientos" by Professor Hans Plischke. The entire series, which will be completed in ten volumes, is under the editorial supervision of Professor Walter Goetz, of the University of Leipzig. The later tomes will presumably contain much material on Hispanic America.

Portuguese historiography is being vastly enriched by the publication of a magisterial study of the life and times of Alexandre Herculano, the most illustrious of Portugal's historians, by Professor Vitorino Nemésio of the University of Coimbra. The title of this work is *Herculano, ensaio de interpretação da sua personalidade na história do século XIX*. Tome I in two volumes has thus far been published with the sub-title of *A mocidade de Herculano, até a volta do exílio, 1810-1932* (Lisbôa, Livraria Bertrand, 1934). The author has in preparation: Tomo II, "Herculano, o ermitério da Ajuda"; Tomo III, "Herculano, o solitário de Val de Lobos"; Tomo IV, "Herculano, cartas inéditas" (some 600), and finally, Tomo V, "Herculano, cartas dispersas". The work of Professor Nemésio is a model biography of its kind, authoritative, interesting, rich in background, and equipped with adequate critical apparatus. Students will look forward to the completion of these studies with eager interest.

Virtually the entire November-December (1934) number of the *Boletim* of the Sociedade de Geographia de Lisbôa is devoted to the fifth centenary of the passage of Cape Bojador by Gil Eanes Vila Lobos, an event rightly regarded as one of the great landmarks in the history of Portuguese maritime exploration.

On various occasions, reference has been made to the many and excellent publications issued by the National University of La Plata. Particular mention should be made of *Boletín de la Universidad Nacional de la Plata*, of which eighteen volumes have been issued. Late in 1934, appeared the number (Tomo XVIII, Núm. 4), devoted to the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Library of La Plata. Integrated with the University and Museum of Natural Sciences, this library has become one of the greatest in South America. This special number of the *Boletín* contains a number of items of great interest to the student of history; several, in fact, are virtual monographs. President Ricardo Levene writes on "El cincuentenario de la fundación de la Biblioteca de La Plata"; Sr. Alberto Palcos, the librarian, on "Síntesis sobre la fundación actual de la Biblioteca de la Universidad de La Plata"; Srta. Hanny Simons, vice-director of the Library, on "Biblioteconomía"; Dr. Arturo Capdevila, well-known man of letters, on "Letras del tiempo Virreinal"; Professor Narciso Binayán, on "La Revolución de Mayo a través de los impresos coetáneos existentes en la Biblioteca de la Universidad de La Plata"; Professor Diego Luis Molinari, on "La Libertad y el despotismo en las provincias de la Unión (1816-1829)"; Sr. Luis Aznar, on "Apuntes sobre el periodismo como fuente para la historia argentina". Then follow articles setting forth at length the wealth of the library in the fields of Argentine history, Ibero-American history, etc. Dr. Ernesto Nelson has described in detail the amazingly comprehensive section devoted to the United States. This number of the *Boletín* will be all but indispensable to those concerned with the intellectual history of Argentina.

Among the most useful of the many publications issued by the University of La Plata is the series, inaugurated in 1928, called "Extensión Universitaria". Those of particular interest to students of history are: Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *La Edad media y la empresa de América* (no. 14, 1933); José Vasconcelos, *La Cultura en Hispano-*

américa (no. 15, 1934); and Manuel García Morente, *Definición de las épocas "modernas" en la historia* (no. 18, 1934).

Argentine sociologists are increasingly disposed to regard the ninth decade of the last century as the most important critical ten years in the history of the republic. In 1889, Buenos Aires had 530,000 inhabitants; in the same year 300,000 travelers and immigrants entered the country, a proportion to the total population never equaled in the history of any country, not even the United States. How could the traditional culture of Argentina suddenly assimilate this immense mass of human material? This is but one of the interesting problems which Sr. Juan Balestra has approached in his work *El noventa, una evolución política Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1934). The book will repay careful study by all those interested in the social development of the Argentine people.

The erudite historian of Córdoba, Father Pablo Cabrera, has added to his imposing list of works on Argentine history, *Introducción a la historia eclesiástica del Tucumán*. It covers in detail the critical years 1535-1590, the first period of the conquest and colonization of northern Argentina.

The political history of Argentina during the last few decades has been made the subject of a series of penetrating essays entitled *Ensayos políticos y administrativos* (Buenos Aires, 1934), by Sr. Eduardo Crespo. Here are described the political institutions in actual operation, i.e., popular elections in accordance with the famous Sáenz Peña law of 1912. It is a very useful supplement to the narrative history of the period.

"La Comisión honoraria de Reducciones de Indios" is a semi-public body whose object is to improve the lot of the remaining indigenous inhabitants of the country. Under their auspices has been issued *La Situación actual de los indios argentinos* (Buenos Aires, 1934). This is a coöperative work in which Argentina university professors, foreign and Argentine scientific societies, etc., have participated. The book is designed to be the first of a series whose object is to bring the history, traditions, and present lot of the Indians to the notice of the public and much attention is naturally paid to the rôle which they have played in the national evolution of the country. The book is a valuable contribution to a somewhat neglected aspect of Argentina life.

Under the title of "El Facundo" (Buenos Aires, 1934), the Argentine historian and sociologist, Sr. Alberto Palcos, at present director of the library of the University of La Plata, has written an extremely interesting exegesis of Sarmiento's famous classic. He has examined the successive editions of this work and pointed out how they were modified according to the circumstances of the hour and the political aims of the author, particularly his desire to utilize his book as a weapon against Rosas. Sr. Palcos is well qualified for his task as he recently published *Sarmiento. La Vida. La Obra. Las Ideas. El Genio* (Buenos Aires, 1933), which was reviewed by Miss Madalene Nichols in the May, 1935, issue of this REVIEW.

The Institut des Études Américaines, to which reference has been made earlier in the present article, is sponsoring a series of books on the new world, known as *Choses d'Amérique*. The first volume to appear was by André Siegfried, *Amérique latine* (Paris, Armand Colin, 1934). Though showing occasional flashes of insight, the work of this distinguished French scholar is on the whole superficial, owing to the brevity of his visit to South America and his ignorance of the historical background. The second work, entitled *Initiation à la vie argentine* (Paris, Armand Colin, 1935), is less ephemeral in character. It consists of a series of carefully prepared chapters on different aspects of the economic and intellectual life of contemporary Argentina. Most of the contributors are French scholars who, in various capacities, have spent some time in Argentina. Dr. Tomás le Breton, Argentine ambassador to France, writes a general introduction. Sr. Roberto Gache, counsellor of the embassy, contributes a chapter on the social development of the country. Professor Gaston Jèze discusses current economic and financial problems. M. George Lewandowski takes up Argentina's financial relations with foreign countries. MM. Ricard and Diffloth treat of agricultural and pastoral industries. The intellectual life of Argentina is surveyed by M. Max Daireaux. The progress of the country in the fields of pure and applied sciences is discussed by Professors Pierre Janet and F. Legueu. A summary and conclusion is from the pen of M. George-Picot, formerly French ambassador to Argentina.

The indefatigable Argentine historian, Dr. Enrique de Gandía, has made an important contribution to the early religious history of the

Platine basin with his latest monograph entitled *El primer clérigo y el primer obispo del Río de la Plata* (Buenos Aires, 1935). The first of these two men was Father Francisco García who accompanied Sebastian Cabot on his expedition of 1526, and remained in the country for four years, sharing the privations of this ill-fated colony. The bishop referred to is Fray Juan de Barrios, appointed bishop of Asunción in 1547. But owing to a series of unhappy accidents and delays he was unable to assume his charge, and eventually became bishop of Santa Marta in New Granada.

Although a number of the theories of the Argentine anthropologist, Florencio Ameghino, have been somewhat discredited, notably his belief in the existence of the "hombre terciario" in South America, interest in his investigations shows little signs of abating in Argentina. Some time ago, the government of the Province of Buenos Aires subsidized a complete edition of his works and correspondence. This vast undertaking, under the general direction of Sr. Alfredo J. Torcelli, has made such progress that volume XIV has just appeared (*La Plata*, 1935). It is entitled *Investigaciones de morfología filogenética en los molares superiores de los ungulados*. Though written for the specialist, these monographs of Ameghino cannot be ignored by students of the preliterate period of Argentina.

A new and important regional historical review has recently appeared in Argentina under the title of *Revista de la Junta de Estudios Históricos de Mendoza*. The president of the Junta is Professor Julio César Raffo de la Reta, a prominent historian of Mendoza, and author of an important study on the Carrera brothers of Chile, *El General José Miguel Carrera en la República Argentina* (1935). The aim of the *Revista*, the second number of which appeared early in the present year, is not only to publish original material but also to render available works dealing with the historic region of Cuyo, comprising in colonial days Mendoza, San Juan, and San Luis. It was a part of Chile until 1776 when it became a part of the viceroyalty of Buenos Aires.

The eminent Argentine writer and publicist, Dr. Rodolfo Rivarola, was elected in February, 1935, a corresponding member of the Brazilian Academy of Letters, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of the Peruvian poet, José Santos Chocano.

Dr. Luis María Torres, the well-known Argentine archæologist, for many years director of the Museum of La Plata, has written an excellent manual entitled *Los Tiempos prehistóricos y protohistóricos en la República Argentina* (Buenos Aires, Editorial A. Kapelusz & Cía, 1935). Though written for the layman, this work, representing the results of nearly three decades of investigation, will be invaluable to the specialist as well. Full bibliographies accompany each chapter.

Interesting side-lights on the military events which led up to the fall of Rosas in 1852 are revealed by Colonel Alfredo F. de Urquiza in *El Palomar de Caseros—Los Soldados de Urquiza* (Buenos Aires, Librería y Editorial "La Facultad", 1934). The first edition, very limited in size, appeared in 1922. The present edition is not only larger but has been considerably amplified.

The interest of the Argentines in their *prócer de independencia* shows no signs of abating. Students of martial history will find an elaborate analysis of the military operations of the great general in the work recently published by General Nicolás C. Accame, *Una Semblanza de San Martín* (Buenos Aires, 1934).

In general, historical novels find no place in these bibliographical notes. On rare occasions, however, the writer has reproduced an epoch with such fidelity and has described historical events with such accuracy, that his work takes on an almost documentary value. Such is the case with *Las Montoneras* (Buenos Aires, 1934) by H. Olivera Lavie. The hero, a young North American by the name of John King, is supposed to have accompanied the mission of Rodney, Graham, and Bland to the Platine countries in 1817. Here a long series of adventures befall him; at the same time he becomes intimately involved in the stirring events of the time. The author clearly reveals his debt to H. M. Brackenridge (the secretary of the Rodney-Bland Mission) and his two volume work published in London in 1818 under the title of *A Voyage to South America*.

The Bolivian writer, Góver Zárate M., has written a very useful book for those who expect to study Peruvian antiquities *in situ* in the shape of *Guía práctica del Cuzco* (Cuzco, Casa Editora "Cuzco Imperial", 1935).

All serious students of Brazilian history are familiar with the writings of Dr. Max Fleiuss, the genial and kindly permanent secretary of the Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro. In 1933, appeared his *Apostilas de Historia do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, Imprensa Nacional). So useful did this work prove that a second edition, somewhat enlarged, appeared in Porto Alegre (Livraria do Globo) the following year. The book is not easy of definition. It is divided into 68 "Lessons" (Lições), arranged in chronological sequence, and each one deals with a certain important event or institution. No attempt is made to treat the subject exhaustively, but a number of striking facts and generalizations, drawn almost at random from the author's encyclopedic knowledge of Brazilian history, are set forth for the reader's delectation. The lessons are accompanied by "traços biograficos", giving in outline the chief events in the lives of the persons chiefly concerned with the subject of the lesson. We have here apparently the notes on which Dr. Fleiuss based his lectures in the Ginasio de São Bento of Rio de Janeiro. The result is a vast amount of data which the discriminating student, already initiated into the history of Brazil, may use to advantage.

The friends of Dr. João Pandiá Calogeras, whose death in 1934 was a severe loss to the historical fraternity of Brazil, have published a symposium of appreciations of this eminent historian, financier, and public man in a work entitled *Calogeras, na opinião de seus contemporaneos* (São Paulo, Typ. Siqueira, 1934). The contributors include some of the best known writers of present-day Brazil.

Sr. Mario Melo, permanent secretary of the Instituto Arqueologico Pernambucano, and authority on the history of northern Brazil has recently published two works of more than passing interest. The first *Frei Caneca* (Recife, Imprensa Oficial, 1933) is a monograph on the patriotic priest Father Caneca who took a prominent part in the ill-starred revolution of 1817 and is generally regarded as the most brilliant figure of Pernambuco in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The second work, more popular in character, consists of some twenty-three essays and studies dealing for the most part with striking episodes in the history of Pernambuco and published under the title of *Aspectos da Historia* (Recife, Edição da Casa Mozart, 1935).

The many admirers of the late Dr. Manoel de Oliveira Lima will be happy to learn that the Memoirs of this eminent historian, arranged for publication by D. Flora de Oliveira Lima, are at the present time in press.

The late Samuel Oppenheim was an indefatigable scholar and tireless collector. His literary labors covered the entire field of American Jewish history. In his quests he was led to include the activities of the Dutch both in New Amsterdam and Brazil. On his death his entire collection was deposited with the American Jewish Historical Society where it occupies a portion of its library at 3080 Broadway, New York City. The papers consist of many photostats of documents in the archives of a number of countries, particularly The Netherlands, translations from various documents, personal notes, and comments and other items. There is a vast amount of material here, which unfortunately has not been fully examined, let alone catalogued. The wealth of the collection has recently been revealed by the publication of a monograph by Rabbi Herbert I. Bloom, M.H.L., entitled "A study of Brazilian Jewish History 1623-1654, based chiefly upon the findings of the late Samuel Oppenheim", in *Publications* of the American Jewish Historical Society, No. 33, 1934. This lengthy article by Rabbi Bloom admirably supplements the account of the Dutch in Brazil as given by H. Waetjen (*Das holländische Kolonialreich in Brasilien*) and Varnhagen (*Historia geral do Brasil*) and other standard works on the subject. Its chief importance of course consists in the detailed account of the significant part which the Jews took in attempts of the Dutch West India Company and especially Count Maurice of Nassau Siegen to establish a Dutch Colony in South America. Besides utilizing the Oppenheim collection, Rabbi Bloom has drawn heavily on his own unpublished book on Amsterdam Jewry.

One of the burning social questions of contemporary Brazil is Japanese emigration. Though there is a general recognition that the presence of the Japanese contributes to the economic development of the country, their advent in any considerable numbers arouses misgivings. It will be remembered that in the constitution of 1934 the provision was inserted that in no year shall the entry of immigrants exceed in number two per cent of their total nationals resident in Brazil during the last fifty years. It has been alleged (and also de-

nied) that this provision is directed against the Japanese. The Alberto Torres Society is at present carrying on a vigorous campaign against this Oriental immigration. On the other hand Professor Bruno Lobo has written a lengthy work called *De Japonez a Brasileiro*, with the subtitle of *Adaptação e nacionalisação do imigrante* (Rio de Janeiro, Typ. do Dep. Nacional de Estatística, 1932) in which he strongly defends the Japanese and attempts to prove that they are the ideal immigrants for Brazil.

There is some ground for the belief that the humble but useful typewriter was a Brazilian invention by Father Francisco João de Azevedo (1814-1880). The history of the life and times of this interesting and in some respects important figure has been written by J. C. Ataliba Nogueira, *Um inventor brasileiro* (São Paulo, Empresa Grafica da Revista dos Tribunaes, 1934).

A vivid account of the São Paulo revolution of 1932 is given by L. Mouralis in *Un séjour aux États Unis du Brésil* (Paris, 1934).

The French writer, Georges Roeders, who has long been interested in things Brazilian, has written a curious but interesting work called *Le Comte Gobineau au Brésil* (Paris, "Nouvelles Éditions Latins", 1935).

David Canabarro (estudo biografico) by H. Canabarro Reichardt (Rio de Janeiro, Papelaria Velho, 1934) is a study of the life and times of one of the leading figures of the war of the "Farapos" which a hundred years ago desolated Southern Brazil. Canabarro was one of the chiefs of the short-lived republic of 1841-1845. He also fought in the war against Rosas and in the Paraguayan War.

From the point of view of both constitutional law and of history one of the most interesting institutions of the Brazilian Empire was the Council of State. A valuable monograph on this subject has been written by Augusto Tavares de Lyra, *O Conselho de Estado (Boletim da Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, Rio de Janeiro, Imprensa Nacional, 1934)*. The work is divided into the following sections: I. Antecedentes historicos. II. A criação do Conselho. III. O primeiro Conselho do Estado em função. IV. Os conselheiros de Estado.

The proceedings of the Brazilian constituent assembly, from which proceeded the constitution of 1934, are in process of publication. Vol. I has just appeared with the title of *Annaes da Assembleia Nacional Constituinte, organizados pela Redacção dos Annaes e Documentos Parlamentares* (Rio de Janeiro, Imprensa Nacional, 1934).

A third edition of the well-known and exceedingly valuable *Capítulos de Historia Colonial (1500-1800)* by J. Capistrano de Abreu has just been published under the auspices of the Sociedade Capistrano de Abreu by the firm of F. Briguet & C. (Rio de Janeiro, 1934).

Reference has already been made to the excellent and authoritative *Tratado de Derecho Internacional Publico* by the Brazilian scholar and jurist, Dr. Hildebrando Accioly. The second volume, which in every way maintains the high standard set by its predecessor, has just appeared (Rio de Janeiro, Imprensa Nacional, 1934). The work has a peculiar value for students of history in that the various practices discussed by the writer are illustrated by examples drawn from Brazil.

Interesting side-lights on the problem of slavery and abolition in Brazil are to be found in *Patrocinio* by Oswaldo Orico (Rio de Janeiro, Pongetti, 1935). This is the second edition, much enlarged and improved, of a book which originally had the lurid title of *O Tigre da Abolição*. Next to Nabuco, Patrocinio was the most stalwart paladin of the abolitionist movement of the seventies and eighties of the last century. He was a great orator. Oliveira Lima once declared: "There was no note in human passion, from the most sublime to the lowest, which he could not touch with his voice or pen".

In the field of legislation the Provisional Government of Brazil, which was in power from 1930 to 1934, was especially active. The most important decrees issued from November 8, 1930, to December 31, 1931, have been arranged and edited by Alfonso Duarte Ribeiro, *Legislação do Governo Provisorio* (Rio de Janeiro, Publicação official do Ministerio da Justicia, 1934).

Memories of *opéra bouffe* war between Chile and Spain in 1866, which had a tragic climax in the bombardment of Chile's chief seaport, are evoked by the Chilean historian, Joaquín Edwards Bello, in

El Bombardeo de Valparaíso (Santiago de Chile, Editorial Ereilla, 1935).

Dr. Máximo Soto-Hall, the Guatemalan man of letters, who has been residing for some time in Argentina, is about to publish a biography of one of the outstanding figures of early Chilean history, Don Diego Portales.

It will be recalled that in connection with the celebration of the fourth centenary of the founding of Cartagena was held in this beautiful and historic Colombian city a historical congress whose ten sessions lasted from December 25, 1933, to January 6, 1934. The organization and success of this gathering were largely owing to the tireless efforts of Dr. G. Porras Troconis, president of the Academy of History of Cartagena. There has just issued from the press under the direction of Dr. Porras a stout volume entitled *Congreso Hispanoamericano de Historia* (Cartagena, Imprenta Departamental, 1935). Here are given a full account of this meeting, including the speeches of the delegates, and the "Informes" on the some thirty papers or reports (a number of them good-sized monographs) presented by sixteen contributors. It is assumed that some of these works will later be published *in extenso*.

The political and literary career of the late Alfredo Zayas, veteran of the Cuban war of independence and president of the republic from 1921 to 1925, is traced at some length by the president of the Cuban Academy of History, Dr. Tomás de Justiz y del Valle, in his *Elogio del Dr. Alfredo Zayas y Alfonso* (La Habana, Imprenta "El Siglo XX", 1935) at a solemn session of the Academy held on April 11, 1935.

The Spanish journalist, Enrique Lumen, chanced to be in Cuba at the time of the downfall of Machado. The results of his observations appear in *La Revolución Cubana* (México, Ediciones Botas, 1934). The book takes up in detail the Machado régime and the subsequent history of Cuba up through the resignation of Dr. Grau San Martín. The value of the work is lessened by the strong bias of the author against the United States.

Under the title of "Biblioteca Histórica Cubana", the Editorial "Habanera" (Calzada 30, Vedado, Habana) has undertaken the publication of a series of documents dealing with Cuban history, more

especially the revolutionary period from 1868 to 1898. Four volumes have already appeared with the title of *La Revolución del 95, según la correspondencia de la delegación cubana en Nueva York*. They embrace the period July, 1895-June, 1896.

Some light is shed on the latter days of the Spanish régime in Cuba by Weyler, *el hombre de hierro*, by Julio Romano, in the series "Vidas Españolas e Hispano-Americanas" (Madrid, Espase-Calpe, 1935).

One of the most interesting periods in the life of the Cuban revolutionist, José Martí, is described by the Mexican writer and poet, José de J. Núñez y Domínguez, in his volume *Martí en México* (México, 1934; reviewed in this volume of the REVIEW, pp. 241-242). The work is issued under the auspices of the secretariat of foreign relations and has a prologue by Dr. J. M. Puig Casauranc, formerly secretary of foreign relations. It may also be noted that the Mexican writer, Lic. Camilo Carrancá y Trujillo, who has already edited a portion of Martí's papers, is planning a comprehensive biography of the Cuban patriot.

In 1930, on the fiftieth anniversary of the first course on philosophy given by the great Cuban intellectual, José Varona, it was planned to honor him with a special volume of contributions from his friends and former students. As these were scattered through the entire Spanish speaking world, the project was slow in coming to fruition. Meanwhile, Varona died, on March 19, 1933. None the less, largely through the devoted efforts of Dr. José Maria Chacón y Calvo, the distinguished Cuban man of letters, it was decided to publish the volume as a memorial to Varona. The full title is *Homenaje a Enrique José Varona en el cincuentenario de su primer curso de filosofía, 1880-1930. Miscelánea de estudios literarios, históricos y filosóficos* (La Habana, Publicaciones de la Secretaría de Educación, Dirección de Cultura, 1935). This stout volume of nearly 600 pages contains thirty-seven articles. Though the majority treat of literary themes, there are a number of direct interest to students of history. A few of these will be mentioned: Dr. Antonio S. de Bustamente (the eminent Cuban authority on international law and allied topics), "Arquitectura del destino cubano"; Dr. José María Chacón y Calvo, "El Padre Varela y la autonomía colonial"; Professor Charles E. Chapman, "United States Responsibility for Political Conditions in Cuba"; Sr. Luis

González Obregón (the eminent Mexican historian), "Don Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, sabio arqueólogo y lingüista mexicano"; Captain Joaquín Llaverías (director of the national archives of Cuba), "Como pensaba Varona sobre Cuba en 1878 y 1879"; Dr. Jorge Mañach (Cuban critic and writer), "Orígenes de la Cultura en Cuba"; Ramón Menéndez Pidal (eminent Spanish man of letters), "Las primeras noticias de romances tradicionales en América y especialmente en Colombia"; Francisco Monterde (the well-known Mexican literary figure), "La vida y el arte en México"; Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring (Cuban writer and vehement critic of the policy of the United States toward Cuba), "El internacionalismo de José Martí"; Sr. Emeterio Santovenia (Cuban historian), "Bolívar y las Antillas hispanas"; Sr. Carlos M. Trelles (director of the National Library of Cuba), "Bibliografía de Varona". The book is prefaced by a brief "Advertencia" by Dr. Chacón. Considered as a whole it is a work of enduring value. See a review of this book, pp. 478-480 of the present issue of this REVIEW.

Under the auspices of the secretariat of education of Cuba a new monthly has been launched with the title of *Revista Cubana*. The editor is the eminent Cuban man of letters, Dr. José María Chacón y Calvo. While the review is hospitable to the whole field of culture, much attention will be paid to historical subjects. Among the contributions to the first number (February, 1935) may be mentioned: "La colonización de Cuba—Organización institucional", by Emeterio S. Santovenia; "La Segunda Conferencia Interamericana de Educación", by Luciano R. Martínez; "Aviraneta pacificador", by José María Chacón y Calvo; "Las primeras noticias de Romances tradicionales en América", by Ramón Menéndez Pidal. There are also sections devoted to book reviews and "hechos y comentarios".

Students of Cuban history will be interested in the appearance of *El Instituto Hispano-Cubano de Historia de América* (Madrid and Barcelona, Compañía Ibero-Americana de Publicaciones, 1934), which contain a detailed account of the organization and activities of this institution, founded several years ago in Seville.

Partly with the object of writing a continuation of the classic history of Ecuador of the late Federico González Suárez, which embraces only the colonial period, Sr. Roberto Andrade has published *La his-*

toria del Ecuador en la primera mitad del siglo XIX (Quito, Reed and Reed, 1934). This is by all odds the most detailed and complete history we possess for the period covered. Sr. Andrade (born 1851) has been intimately associated with Ecuadorean politics since 1875. During his exile in Colombia he lived with the great Montalvo. He has a large number of studies and monographs on themes of local Ecuadorean history to his credit. It is his hope, despite his great age, to continue his present history until it covers all of the last century.

An important source on the early history of Ecuador has recently been made available by the critic and historian, Sr. José Rumazo González, in his edition of the *Libro primero de Cabildos de Quito* (Vol. I, Quito, 1934). The manuscript of the "Libro Primero" or "Libro Verde" (so-called from the color of the ink used) consists of some 270 folios and embraces the years 1534-1551.

Professor Pablo Martínez del Río of the University of Mexico and director of the Summer School of the same institution presented, at the last meeting of the Société des Américanistes (Buenos Aires, 1934), a scholarly and delightful contribution to one of the lesser known customs of pre-Columbian America. His study, *Les Chasses "Chacu" au Mexique et les Ruines du Zacapetec*, has just appeared as a reprint (Paris, Société des Américanistes, 61 Rue de Buffon, 1934). The term "Chacu", which at the present moment enjoys an unhappy celebrity, was originally applied in Ancient Perú to a great hunt, participated in by thousands of Indians, in which vast quantities of game were gradually encircled and killed or captured. The Argentine historian, Dr. Enrique de Gandía, has shown that this custom likewise exists among the Hindus, the Chinese, and other Asiatic peoples and is inclined to believe that we have a *traslado difusivo* to America of a custom which originated in the old world ("Contribución al estudio de las denominadas Chacu", *Actas y trabajos científicos del XXVº Congreso internacional de Americanistas*, Buenos Aires, 1934). Sr. Martínez del Río has convincingly shown that a similar method of hunting prevailed among the Aztecs, particularly in the heights of Zacatepec in the environs of the present Mexico City. He is inclined to reject the theory of Sr. Gandía that we have evidences of cultural diffusion from Asia.

The Archivo General de la Nación of Mexico added in 1934 to its long list of important publications the *Palestra historical* of Fr. Francisco de Burgos. This learned priest is the author of the most complete history in existence of Oaxaca during colonial days. The introduction is by Sr. Rafael López, the director of the archives. The present edition of this work was one of the contributions to the historical congress held in Oaxaca in November, 1933.

Among the latest volumes to be added to the excellent series of "Vidas Españolas e Hispano-americanos del Siglo XIX" are *Juárez el Impasible* by Hector Pérez Martínez and *Morelos, Caudillo de la Independencia Mexicana*, by Lic. Alfonso Teja Zabre, both published in 1934 by Espasa-Calpe in Madrid. Sr. Teja Zabre will be remembered as the author of the *Breve Historia de México* (1934) which bears the *imprimatur* of the present Mexican government.

Under the title of *Mi labor en servicio de México* (México, Ediciones Botas, 1934), Sr. T. Esquivel Obregón has passed in review his own activities during the last days of the Madero régime and the Huerta dictatorship.

General Manuel W. González recalls the days of Carranza in his *Episodios de la revolución constitucionalistas, 1913-1914* (Monterrey, 1934).

The eminent Mexican educator, Dr. Ezequiel A. Chávez, has made a very real contribution to the history of the beginning of the education of the Indians in Mexico through his scholarly work on the great lay teacher Padro de Gante, who came to Mexico on the very heels of the conquistadores. *El primero de los grandes Educadores de la América, Fray Pedro de Gante*, should be on the shelf of every serious student of education in early Spanish America. It is one of the "Estudios de Filosofía y de Historia de Educación" of the national university of Mexico and is published by the Imprenta Mundial (1934).

Those interested in current Mexican political problems will wish to possess a book recently by the Partido Nacional Revolucionario (the party in power) entitled *Plan Sexenal del P. N. R.* (Mexico, 1934).

A history of the Marranos (Philadelphia, 1932) by Cecil Roth contains a chapter on the "Marranos in the New World". This fas-

inating subject of the Crypto-Jews in Mexico has already been dealt with in a popular and delightful manner by Miss Anita Brenner in *The Menorah Journal* for January, 1919.

The Mexican critic, Eduardo Colin, has published, somewhat in the order of Sainte Beuve's famous *Causeries de Lundi*, a series of appreciations of outstanding figures in Hispanic American literature and history. *Rasgos* (México, Imp. Manuel León Sánchez, 1934) contains studies of the lives and activities of Gabriela Mistral, Ventura García Calderón, López Velarde, Jaime Torres Bodet, and others.

The beginnings of the Carranza movement are interestingly described by the Mexican writer and journalist, Alfonso Junco, *Carranza y los orígenes de su rebelión* (Mexico, Porrúa, 1935). In addition to being a writer of novels and historical works (e.g., *Iturbide*, 1924; *La traición de Querétaro*, 1930) Sr. Junco has contributed a weekly article on historical and literary themes to *El Universal* since 1928.

On the occasion of the fourth centenary of the founding of the first printing press in Mexico will be held, in April, 1936, a scientific bibliographical congress (congreso científico bibliográfico) under the auspices of the Ateneo Nacional de Ciencias y Artes de Mexico. By means of delegates from various cultural bodies, the entire country will be represented in this congress. Invitations will also be sent to intellectuals throughout Hispanic America. An exposition of books and printed material will be held on the same occasion.

One of the most penetrating and satisfactory analyses of the Mexican people that has appeared for a long time has just been written by the sociologist, Samuel Ramos, *El Perfil del Hombre y la Cultura en México* (México, Imprenta Mundial, 1934). The scope of this work is in part indicated by a list of the major divisions: La imitación de Europa en el siglo XIX, La influencia de Francia en el siglo XIX, Psicoanálisis del Mexicano, La cultura criolla, El abandono de la cultura mexicana, El perfil del hombre.

While attorney general of the republic, Lic. Emilio Portes Gil wrote *The Conflict Between the Civil Power and the Clergy*. The work is now published by the press of the ministry of foreign affairs (1935). The high positions occupied by Sr. Portes Gil (he is now minister of foreign affairs) might well entitle his work to be regarded as the official version of the history of the clerical problem in Mexico.

The Mexican engineer and writer, Sr. Vito Alessio Robles, whose works on northern Mexico have already been mentioned in this REVIEW, has added to his regional studies *Acapulco en la historia y en la leyenda* (Mexico, Botas, 1934).

It will be generally conceded that the person who has done most to raise the educational standards of Mexico during the past few decades is José Vasconcelos, writer, philosopher, and secretary of education under President Obregón. Sr. Vasconcelos, who is now residing in Argentina, has just published a detailed account of his theories and activities as an educator in a work with the curious title of *De Robinson a Odiseo, pedagogía estructuraliva* (Buenos Aires, 1934).

Mr. William Gates, president of the Maya Society and honorary professor of the national museum of Mexico, delivered at Johns Hopkins University on November 5, 1934, a lecture entitled "Rural Education in Mexico and the Indian Problem". This valuable and interesting exposition of one of the most important phases of cultural life in Mexico has just been privately printed in Mexico, D. F. (1935).

Teachers and others, in quest of usable source material in the field of early Mexican history, will welcome the appearance of *Fernan Cortes, Despatches from Mexico to Charles V*, edited by A. Grove Day of Stanford University (American Book Company, 1935). A brief but scholarly introduction is followed by the Spanish text of the five famous letters, or *Cartas Relaciones*, from the conqueror of Mexico to the emperor. The notes evince a thorough acquaintance with most authoritative works on the subject. For those whose knowledge of Spanish is deficient the vocabulary will prove useful.

Some of the reasons why arbitration and mediation have made such slow progress in the settlement of the Chaco war are dramatically set forth by the Washington newspaper correspondents, Messrs. Drew Pearson and Constantine Brown, in the chapter entitled "The Laboratory of War" in their book *The American Diplomatic Game* (New York, Doubleday Doran, 1935).

Under the general title of *Escenas de la Guerra del Paraguay*, the prolific Argentine novelist, Manuel Gálvez, has written three novels of considerable historical interest dealing with the Paraguayan war. The

individual volumes are called: I. Los caminos de la Muerte; II. Humaitá; III. Jornadas de Agonía (Buenos Aires, Editorial Tor, n.d.).

Reference has already been made in these notes to the celebration of the fourth centenary of the foundation of Cuzco. Of the various works which have been published on this occasion one of the most important is *Cuzco Histórico* (Lima, 1934) by Rafael Larco Herrera. Sr. Luis E. Valcarcel, director of the archæological museum of Peru, has contributed an historical introduction. A Cuzco historian and archæologist, Sr. Carlos Rios Pagaza, has written a section entitled "Escena y actor esencial: el paisaje y el indio". The major part of the book consists of four sections, lavishly illustrated and accompanied by documents, entitled "Cuzco en el era prehistórica", "Cuzco en el era del Virreinato", "El sur peruano" and "La ciudad y su gente a través del arte". In an appendix are shown photographic reproductions of the recent archæological finds by Dr. Valcárcel in Sacsahuaman and in the so-called Sacred Valley of the Incas. Sr. Larco Herrera is a successful Peruvian agriculturalist whose avocation is archæology and history. He has to his credit a number of books including *Hacia el despertar del alma india* (1924), *Civilización yunga* (1933), and *México* (1933).

The Peruvian writer and critic, Luis Alberto Sánchez, has just written a somewhat novelesque biography of the founder of the Aprista movement in Peru: *Raúl Haya de la Torre o el Político* (Santiago de Chile, Editorial Ercilla, 1935).

As is well known, the Uruguayan revolution of 1933 brought to an end the collegiate executive, the most striking feature of the constitution of 1917, and an unique institution in the constitutional history of Hispanic America. A devastating criticism of the collegiate executive and of the history of Uruguay under the control of the dominant party (the "Batlle" faction of the *Colorados*) has appeared from the pen of Dr. Horacio Abadie Santos with the title of *De la jornada anticollegialista* (Montevideo, Impresora Moderna, 1933). It is frankly written from the point of view of the "Riverista" faction of the Colorado party. It contains important pronouncements and speeches as well as a detailed account of the antecedents of the revolution of 1933.

An important contribution to the literature on the great Uruguayan *caudillo*, Artigas, has been made by Juan Antonio Repella in *Purificación, sede del Protectorado de los Pueblos Libres* (Montevideo, Imprenta "El Siglo Ilustrado", 1934).

On January 26, 1935, there died at the age of seventy-eight, in southern France, the historian, Jules Humbert. This modest professor, for many years a member of the faculty of the Lycée of Bordeaux, was especially concerned with the history of Venezuela. Though not large in number, his writings are based on careful documentary study and are authoritative in their field. They include *Les Origines Vénézuéliennes. Essai sur la colonisation espagnole au Vénézuéla* (Bordeaux, 1915); *L'Occupation allemande du Vénézuéla au XVIIe siècle* (Bordeaux, 1905); "La plus ancienne ville du Continent américain, Cumana de Vénézuéla. Ses origines, son histoire, son état actuel" (*Journal de la Société des Americanistes de Paris*, num. I, 1916); "Les documents manuscrits du British Museum relatifs à la colonisation espagnole en Amérique et particulièrement au Vénézuéla" (published in *id.*, num. V, 1908); "Les Origines et les ancêtres du Libérateur Simon Bolivar (*id.*, Nouvelle serie, t. IX, 1912); *Histoire de la Colombie et du Vénézuéla des origines jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris, 1921).

Utilizing the somewhat outmoded devise of the literary dialogue, the Venezuelan writer, E. Arroyo Lamedá, has essayed with considerable success an analysis of the people of Hispanic America in his *Motivos Hispano-Americanos* (Paris, Editorial "le Livre Libre", 1933).

A welcome edition to the cultural history of Hispanic America is the book by Angel Grisanti, *La instrucción pública en Venezuela* (Barcelona, Casa Editorial Araluce, 1933). The approach is historical. The chief divisions of the book have as their titles: "La instrucción pública en la América colonial", "Regimen español en América". "La Independencia y los primeros años de la República", "Época actual o tercer período". The author states that it is the first Venezuelan monograph on the subject. The eminent Peruvian man of letters, Francisco García Calderón, has written a "prologo".

Dr. Jacobo Varela, the scholarly minister of Uruguay at Washington, has just published a number of his more notable speeches under

the title of *Acción parlamentaria y diplomática* (Montevideo, Claudio García, 1934). This volume will be of great value for the recent history of Uruguay.

The Venezuelan journalist and writer, José Nucete Sardi, has written a full-dress, though somewhat romanticised, biography of Miranda under the title of *Aventura y Tragedia de Don Francisco de Miranda* (Caracas, Coöperativa de Artes Gráficas, 1935). Though the work is entirely innocent of footnotes or references, a brief bibliography indicates that the writer has utilized the best sources available, namely the *Archivos del General Miranda* (63 tomos originales y 14 tomos publicados por el Gobierno Nacional). A half dozen secondary works include *The Life of Francisco de Miranda* by W. S. Robertson.

Sr. Santiago Key-Ayala of Caracas has embarked on the herculean task of preparing a series of bibliographies of articles in periodicals dealing with the entire history of Venezuela. These he calls *Séries Hemero-Bibliográficas*. Quite appropriately he begins with Bolívar; the volume entitled *Primera Serie Bolivariana* appeared in 1933 (Caracas Tipografía Americana). It consists of exactly one thousand references to articles in periodicals, almost all Venezuelan, arranged by authors. Though his method may not commend itself to all scholars, Sr. Key-Ayala has at least assembled an immense amount of widely scattered, and in some cases, bibliographically important data.

The *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de la Historia* of Venezuela contains in its number for January-March, 1935 (no. 69), an important article on "La Guerra a Muerte" by Dr. Vicente Lecuna, in which he places this much criticized episode in the career of Bolívar in its true perspective. One hundred and forty pages of pertinent documents accompany the article. There is also reproduced in facsimile the sole existing copy of the famous decree of Trujillo, containing Bolívar's exhortation: "Españoles y Canarios, contad con la muerte, aun siendo indiferentes . . . Americanos, contad con la vida, aun cuando seas culpables". Dr. Lecuna, who is a "Miembro de Número" of the Academia Nacional de la Historia is the editor, it will be recalled, of the ten volumes of *Cartas del Libertador* published by the government of Venezuela in 1932.

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MEXICAN BIBLIOGRAPHY IN 1934

INTRODUCTION

Mexican bibliographical production is daily increasing. Desiring that the readers of THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW form some idea of that production, there are here compiled the most important titles of 1934. It is difficult to list here all the books and pamphlets that appeared during that year; but those indispensable to the student are here noted.

At the present time, the foremost Mexican institutions working toward the organization of a national bibliography are the following: Departamento de Bibliotecas of the Secretaría de Educación Pública; Biblioteca Nacional; Departamento de Biblioteca y Archivos Económicos of the Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público; Departamento de Publicidad of the Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores; Library of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento; Dirección General de Educación Militar of the Secretaría de Guerra y Marina; Departamento de Estudios Económicos of the Secretaría de la Economía Nacional; and Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnografía. Each of the above institutions can supply brief information on Mexican bibliography.

At present there are various bibliographical publications, namely: *El Libro y El Pueblo*, published by the Secretaría de Educación Pública; *Letras*, published by Editorial Botas; *La Bibliografía*, address, Apartado Postal, núm. 7990, Mexico, D.F.; *Gaceta Bibliográfica*, address, Librería Nueva de José Porrúa e Hijos, Apartado Postal, núm. 8855, Mexico, D.F.; and *Anuario Bibliográfico Mexicano*, published by the Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, its director being Don Felipe Teixidor (address, Alamo, 24, Mexico, D.F.).

There are two principal publishing houses in the City of Mexico, namely: Editorial Botas, at Calle Bolívar, 9, and Manuel León Sánchez, at M. R. Lazarín del Toro, 7; one at Monterrey, Nuevo León, namely, Cantú Leal; and one at Mérida, Yucatan, namely, Compañía Tipográfica Yucateca.

For supplying information relative to old books on Mexico and Central America, the main authorities are the following: Demetrio S.

García (Librería del Perú, Calle del Perú, 68, and Porrúa Hermanos (Av. Argentina y Av. Guatemala), both of Mexico City.

There are two Spanish publishing houses, as follows: Salvat Editores, of Barcelona, Spain, represented by the Editorial González Porto (Edificio Paris, 114), which specializes in fine books, textbooks, and encyclopedias; and Espasa-Calpa (Av. Isabel la Católica 6), both in Mexico City. The Editorial Ercilla, of Santiago de Chile, is represented by Marino Coli (Justo Sierra 54).

One can obtain reviews and periodicals published in the Spanish-speaking countries in Central de Publicaciones, S.A., at Av. Juárez 4, Mexico City. This concern has a review of its own, which consists of a digest of the best periodical publications of the world, called *Síntesis*. The Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores has made arrangements to continue its two excellent series, namely: "Monografías Bibliográficas Mexicanas"; and "Archivo Histórico Diplomático Mexicano". Both series are under the direction of Don Genaro Estrada.

The bibliographical list follows. It will be noted that the greater part of the Mexican literary output was published in the City of Mexico. A few publications of Europe and of the United States of North America are listed.

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NOTES

The Library of Congress has in press the second volume of the series it is publishing on the Harkness Collection of early Spanish documents from Mexico and Peru. The first volume was a calendar of the Peruvian section. The second will present in full text and translation some hundred documents from this section which relate directly to the Pizarro brothers (Francisco, Hernando, and Gonzalo) and to the Almagros, father and son. These documents are varied in character including obligations, powers of attorney, grants of Indians, commissions and instructions for the founding of settlements, contracts with overseers, the papers in the transfer of Pedro de Alvarado's fleet, extracts from the codicil to the will of Diego de Almagro, made on the day of his execution, letters from his son concerning the father's death and the assassination of Francisco Pizarro, and orders of the self-styled governor and captain general, Gonzalo Pizarro, in his attempt to usurp the authority of the viceroy. A third volume, the calendar of the Mexican material of the Harkness Collection, is now being prepared. This work has been accomplished entirely by Miss Stella R. Clemence.

Sarah Wambaugh, formerly attached as technical expert to the secretariat of the League of Nations, expert adviser to the Peruvian Government in the plebiscite in Tacna-Arica, and professor of the Academy of International Law of The Hague, has produced an important and informative work in her *Plebiscites since the World War, with a Collection of official Documents*, 2 vols. (Washington, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1933)—especially valuable as a record of the processes of peace. The first volume consists of the narrative and the second of the documents. Much the greater part of each volume is concerned with the European plebiscites. In fact, the only material touching Hispanic America in Vol. I. is "The attempted plebiscite in Tacna and Arica, 1925-1926", pp. 331-410; and in Vol. II., Documents 97-129, pp. 281-491. In any study of the history and diplomacy of the Tacna-Arica region, these volumes must be used. Miss Wambaugh's conclusions are sound and well expressed. The

documents reproduced are essential to a correct understanding of the whole matter, and together with Miss Wambaugh's narrative, give an adequate portrayal of the events and considerations connected with the attempted plebiscite. From the amount of space occupied by this attempted plebiscite, its importance may, perhaps, be gaged. The work is a continuance of *A Monograph on Plebiscites, with a Collection of official Documents*, also published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. These volumes easily take their place in the equipment of students of international law. There is an excellent index—a necessary adjunct to volumes of this description.

At last, that arch pirate, Henry Morgan has his biographer. W. Adolphe Roberts, in his *Sir Henry Morgan: Buccaneer and Governor* (New York, Covici, Friede, Inc., publishers, 1933, pp. ix, 320) has produced a volume of some interest. Books on the early buccaneers and pirates about the American coasts generally find an audience, and this volume is no exception. Its fifteen chapters give the background for Morgan's exploits, his unholy, but daring career as a buccaneer along the Spanish main, his two terms as administrator of the government of Jamaica, and the end of his amazing life. Four appendices give added details; namely, Documents on Panama; Self Government in Jamaica; Text of Morgan's Libel Plea against Malthus; and the Destruction of Port Royal. There are also a short bibliographical list and a fair index. The inside cover pages bear the reproduction of an old plate, entitled "The battle between y^e. Spaniards and Pirates or Buccaneers before the City of Panama". In a sense, the volume appears to be an apology for Morgan, in which his qualities of leadership and a certain loyalty are made to counterbalance in part his vices, lewdness, and cruelty. The first chapter gives an excellent idea of the orgies of the buccaneers turned pirates, and the second treats of the "Brethren of the Coast" and certain leaders of the buccaneers, the greatest of whom was undoubtedly Morgan. His contract with Governor Modyford gave him a certain administrative standing, and his vindication in the Panama affair, notwithstanding Spanish demands for his punishment won him a "Sir" and the post of lieutenant governor of Jamaica, and later he became governor. That Morgan possessed real qualities as leader and administrator can not be denied and they are well brought out in this volume. His death was undoubtedly hastened by his excesses; yet he is after all, a part of the

events that brought about the downfall of the Spaniards in their contests with Europeans in the new world. The volume is an addition to the history of piracy and even of early English administration in America.

That continual interest centers about the pirate Morgan's career, and his amazing deeds is evidenced by Berton Braley's poem *Morgan Sails the Caribbean* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1934, pp. x, 118, \$2.00). In his introduction, the author states that certain fictitious materials were taken from John Steinbeck's *Cup of Gold*. His historical data are from Esquemeling. The poem is of mediocre interest.

Another volume that recalls the buccaneering expeditions along the Spanish Main is Clarence Milligan's *Captain William Kidd: Gentleman or Buccaneer?* (Philadelphia, Dorrance & Company [c1932], pp. 170, \$1.75). The volume seeks to prove that Kidd has been more sinned against than sinning, that he was in reality no pirate, that his trial was a trumped-up affair, and that he went to his death an innocent man. Documents are cited and quotations given in behalf of the author's contention, and he seems to make his points quite clearly. As early as 1923, J. Franklin Jameson, in his *Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period* (New York, Macmillan), published many of the documents relative to Kidd's trial (see pp. 190-257), and suggests (p. xiv) that his guilt was not satisfactorily established.

Robert Redfield, of the University of Chicago, and Alfonso Villa R. have published, through the Carnegie Institution of Washington, in August, 1934, a large monograph, entitled *Chan Kom a Maya Village* (pp. viii, 387, index, \$4.25 paper, \$5.25 cloth). This is "an account of the basic folk culture as it manifests itself in one particular village in eastern Yucatan (p. vii) and the work has been presented as a "simple ethnographic description". This is no attempt to discuss culture elements of Indian origin and those of Spanish origin in the text (but see Appendix E, where this is done). Alfonso Villa is a native of Mérida, Yucatan, and his critical reading of the work was invaluable. The study was begun in 1930, the ethnological text being written by Dr. Redfield. In addition to his critical reading, Señor Villa wrote Appendix A ("A Chan Kom Diary", pp. 231-327). The text proper consists of thirteen chapters, as follows: The Village of Chan

Kom; History; Tools and techniques; Economics; The Division of Labor; Family, village, and state; The invisible World; Ceremonies of field and hive; Novena and village fiesta; Sickness and its cure; From Birth to Death; the Meaning of Nature; and A Village Leader. In addition to Appendix A, there are five other appendices, namely: Myths, Legends, and Tales; Text of Maya Prayers; Notes on Maya Midwifery, by Katheryn MacKay; Indian and Spanish elements in the Chan Kom culture; and Glossary of Maya and Spanish Plant and Animal Names used in the Text. There is also a bibliography of Maya Ethnology. The volume is valuable as a comparison of present Maya life with that discovered by archæologists. It is also a valuable study of customary law. The volume is profusely illustrated. Its publication reflects great credit on the Institution.

The Princeton University Press reprinted Jacob A. Robinson's *A Journal of the Santa Fe Expedition under Colonel Doniphan* in 1932, with an historical introduction and notes by Carl L. Cannon (pp. xx, 96, \$2.00). This is one of the series "Narratives of the Trans-Mississippi Frontier", which has been edited under the general editorship of Dr. Cannon, and is from the 1848 edition published by the Portsmouth (N. H.) Journal Press. The *Journal* is interesting, chiefly because it portrays an expedition of the Mexican War period into Santa Fe, the Navajo country, and down into Chihuahua, led during its first half by General Kearny, and during its later stages by Col. Doniphan of Missouri. The expedition is called by the editor "one of those reckless, foolhardy adventures that Americans can never forget", for it consisted of

a small army of less than a thousand men who marched, without adequate support, hundreds of miles in the enemy's country, often without food, medical supplies, clothing, or sufficient ammunition, and, although they were cavalry, at times without mounts, at other times mounted on mules.

The historical importance of the expedition, Dr. Cannon declares was that

the claim of the United States to the Southwestern States of New Mexico, Arizona, and California, concluded by the Gadsden Purchase, was based on the conquest of those territories by the forces of Kearny and Doniphan.

When the men were mustered out at New Orleans on June 16, 1847, they had marched about 3,500 miles. The *Journal* is well annotated and well edited. The author was of a practical turn, apparently with-

out a great deal of humor. The most amazing episodes are related throughout in a matter-of-fact manner and details one would wish to have are often lacking.

The Biblioteca Nueva of Madrid (see this REVIEW for May, 1935) has published the second of its series of Spanish classics, namely, a facsimile of *La Circe con otras Rimas y Prosas* of Lope de Vega Carpio (En Casa de Alonso perez. 1624). The publication of this volume continues acceptably a plan well conceived and, as the two works already published show, well executed. As an appendix is reproduced in facsimile Lope's "El Castigo sin Venganza", a tragedy which appeared in 1634, "Con Licencia, En Barcelona, por Pedro La Cava-lleria, junta la libreria", the only complete copy of which, in the opinion of Señor Artigas, exists in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. In the same appendix is given also "Obras con Amores". The editor, Sr. Miguel Artigas, appends an essay on the work, which was published at this time in partial celebration of the third centenary of the death of the great dramatic poet. *La Circe*, etc., was reproduced because, although its contents had been reproduced in various collections, the volume had never been reproduced in its entirety since 1624; and because it forms an excellent anthology of Lope de Vega on account of the variety of its contents. Important bibliographical data are given by the editor. Like the first work published in this new series, the present volume is bound elaborately in full leather heavily gilt.

The Paul Hartung Verlag (Hamburg, 25, Börgfelder Strasse, 28), has published a volume on Bolívar by Wolfram Dietrich, under the title *Simon Bolivar und die latein-amerikanischen Unabhängigkeitskriege* (1934; 6 leaves, pp. 280, illus., 6 marks). The volume, which is dedicated to General Juan Vicente Gómez, consists of thirty chapters. It is designed to fill a real lack, for while there are plenty of biographies in German of Cromwell, Washington, and Napoleon, the life and deeds of Bolívar have not hitherto been told adequately in German. The volume has apparently been entirely written from sources in the Spanish language. The lack of an index is a handicap. As a biography the book is fair and tells the essential facts of Bolívar's life. German publishers and publicists are waking up to the rich materials existing in Hispanic America for historical works. Dietrich's book is an excellent example of what may be done.

History teaching in secondary schools in the United States has at last reached such a point that the American Book Company (New York, etc.) has found it profitable to publish early American records other than those dealing with the thirteen original British colonies. This has doubtless been brought about largely by the emphasis placed on universal American history by Professor Bolton of the University of California at Berkeley and his coworkers and students, as well as by the emphasis given to the study of Hispanic American history by many institutions in the United States. The book in question—*Despatches from Mexico to Charles V* by the great conquistador, Hernán Cortés—has been edited by A. Grove Day of Stanford University ([^c1935], pp. xxviii, 144). The Cortés despatches, Day calls “a sort of campfire personality that glows with human no less than historical interest” (p. vii). Pp. xiii-xxviii consist of an introduction, in which something is told of Cortés and the *cartas relaciones*, as well as something of the march to Mexico (which reads like some dream-born romance). The work has also a short bibliography of four titles, a list of Indian names, and a note on Aztec pronunciation. Ten selections made from the letters themselves follow (pp. 1-107), being reproduced in Spanish. Notes by the editor occupy pp. 109-120, and a vocabulary, pp. 121-144. The letters, says Dr. Day, “may be compared without flattery to the *Commentaries* of Julius Caesar and the *Anabasis* of Xenophon” (p. xviii). The text followed is that of Enrique de Vedia (*Historiadores primitivos de Indias*, Madrid, 1852). Some modernization of spelling, accents, punctuation, etc., has been made. This is a capital publication, both for the young student of the Spanish language and of Hispanic American history.

The Robert M. McBride & Co. of New York City has published (1934) a small volume by Sydney A. Clark, entitled *Spain on \$50* (pp. xii, 256, \$1.90). The book is based on the equivalent of fifty dollars, U. S. Currency, as expressed in Spanish money (400 pesetas, although this may vary according to the rate of exchange). This sum, the author says, will easily cover a trip of twelve to sixteen days. The book is filled with excellent suggestions and shows very well how much can be done with a small amount of money. The traveler going to Spain who wishes to economize will do well to consult this volume because of its many excellent hints.

The International Dictionary Co. of 15 Park Row, New York City, has published a very useful *Pan-American Dictionary and Travel Guide for Tourists, Commercial Travelers, and Motorists*, which was compiled by Lewis L. Sell [1935], pp. vii, 237, \$2.50). The dictionary is in English-Spanish and Spanish-English. The travel guide has much useful information, not the least of which is "General Hints to Travelers visiting the Pan-American Countries (except the United States)". The volume, which is recommended, can be carried in the pocket. In it will be found many technical equivalents.

Richard Oglesby Marsh, in his *White Indians of Darien* (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, [1934], pp. 276, \$3.00), writes his experiences along the San Blas Coast of the Isthmus of Panama and his search for, and the finding of, natives whom he calls "white Indians". Claims of the existence of such people have often been made during the last three and a half centuries in various parts of the Americas. The author proves, at least to his own satisfaction, the existence of a considerable number of such people. It would be of interest to have a report on this region by an ethnologist of the Smithsonian Institution. Until such a report is made, however, there is no need of scholars getting excited. There is no index, but the map of Panama on the inner cover page, is excellent.

The well-known French writer, Paul Morand, has written a charming volume called *Indian Air: Impressions of Travel in South America* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1933, pp. 235, \$2.00). The English translation, which is by Desmond Flower, is excellent. The volume contains thirty-four short chapters, which are descriptive, somewhat fanciful, and yet catch some of the atmosphere of South America. The title well describes the several chapters as impressions, but the historian, if he make allowance for the errors in fact in the narrative, will be repaid by reading the volume.

Another French work translated into English (this by H. H. and Doris Hemming) is André Siegfried's *Impressions of South America* (New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company [1933], pp. vii, 192). Its twenty chapters take the reader from France to the Antilles, and thence, successively, to Venezuela, Peru, Chile, Argentina, and Brazil. There are interesting chapters on the Panama Canal, Lima, Santiago

de Chile, Revolution and after in Chile, The economic crisis in Chile, national characteristics of Argentina, its political parties, its economic situation, Rio de Janeiro, and Brazilian politics and the last revolution. The volume ends with general impressions of geography, politics, economic conditions, and foreign influences. Siegfried's impressions should be compared with those of Morand (noted above), perhaps less artistic but on the whole more solid, although he is not always sure of his facts. The work is written in a sober vein that will commend it to students of present-day South America. It belongs to the better type of travel and description books. The numerous illustrations are by Ione Robinson.

The same writer is the author of a volume published by Librairie Armand Colin, at 163 Boulevard Saint-Michel (Paris, 1934, pp. 175), at a cost of 10 francs, paper, entitled *Amérique Latine*. Its several chapters are: Dans quelle mesure il existe une Amérique Latine; L'aspect géographe; L'aspect économique; L'aspect politique; and La civilisation. It belongs to the series "Choses d'Amérique"—a collection being published under the direction of the Institut des Études Américaines. Like the preceding volume, this book is well written. The contrast between Argentina and Brazil is well shown.

El Terror en Cuba, published in Madrid, 1933, by the "Comité de Jóvenes Revolucionarios Cubanos", is an interesting example of the propaganda pamphlets through which the Cuban opposition carried on its struggle against Machado before the latter's fall. As the pamphlet's basic information has become widely available since its publication, there is no point in summarizing it here. But it is worth noting that one of the signers for the "Comité" is María Teresa Freyre de Andrade. Presumably she is sister or some other kin to the three men of her name whose assassination shocked the world in 1932. There is, therefore, a probable source value to some of this pamphlet that one hesitates to ascribe to some of its counterparts.—R. D. HUSSEY.

Evelyn Waugh, in *Ninety-two Days* (New York, Farrer & Rinehart, Inc. [c1934], pp. viii, 271, \$2.50) tells of a tropical journey which he made through British Guiana and part of Brazil. As a narrative, the volume is dull and not very well written; and it could easily have been compressed into half the space. The part dealing with the

habits, beliefs, and superstitions of the Indians, and the account of operations in the diamond fields are the best places in the book, but as a whole it is disappointing. Had the author taken the most interesting episodes and published them as magazine articles with numerous illustrations, he would have done better.

The Devil's Drummer by Tex Harding (a pseudonym for Harry Browne) is a narrative by a young Austrian of part English descent of various incidents in his life. The volume (New York, Reynal and Hitchcock [c1934], pp. 283) was written in German and translated into English by James Murphy, who vouches for its general truth in his introduction. Tex Harding (the road name of this world hobo), Murphy says, is now writing his experiences as a pearl diver in the Galapagos Islands. It seems that he became a wanderer at a very youthful age, finally shipping to America, where he not only soldiered in Mexico, and hiked through part of the tropical forests of Brazil, but also had numerous other adventures. Most of the volume is taken up with his search by airship with a pilot named Jimmy Burns for traces of the lost explorer Fawcett. The latter, it will be remembered, went to look for certain old archæological ruins which he declared existed in the Brazilian forests, and has been variously reported to have been killed by the barbarous Indians or to be still living in the fastnesses of Brazil. The book was written principally to show that Fawcett, after all, is dead and recounts the adventures of Harding and Burns in their search. Notwithstanding the assertions in the introduction, one wonders whether the volume is a sober recital of truth or whether it is in part at least fancy, or whether it is all fancy. Certainly it is ingenious and one would like to believe it true.

Revista Bimestre Cubana for September-December, 1934, contains among other things, the following: Mexicanos que conocieron a Martí, by Rafael Heliodoro Valle; Una encrucijada de la civilización, by Baldomero Sania Cano; Enrique Bergson, by Gaston Rageot; Causas que explican la rebeldía característica de las provincias orientales cubanas, by Calixto C. Maso; and Aventura de un negrero en Cuba. The same issue also carries a review of A. Curtis Wilgus (ed.), *Modern Hispanic America* (Washington, 1934).

James Churchward has published another of his weird books, in which he expounds the theory of a super race of long ago. The latest

volume is the *Cosmic Forces of Mu* (New York, The Baker and Taylor Co. [1934], pp. 246, \$3.00). Some New World remains are made to do service in the attempt to prove his unscientific hypothesis.

The Pan American Union has issued in mimeograph form the "Activities of the Division of Intellectual Coöperation" for 1933-1934. The report forms an interesting chapter in the work of the Pan American Union. Miss Heloise Brainard, head of the division for some years, has just resigned that post. She has accomplished much during her incumbency and has placed many individuals in her debt.

The Bureau of Public Relations (Joseph M. Murphy, director) of the Catholic University of America, has issued in mimeograph form the paper read by Professor Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M., at the meeting of the Catholic Historical Association in 1934, namely, "The Historical Background of the Church-State Problem in Mexico".

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